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Keeping Chooks at Home in the Waikato: Exploring Postcolonial, Feminist and Kaupapa Māori Perspectives

Nā

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Waitara¹

This thesis considers the narratives of eight Māori chook keepers from the Waikato rohe, Aotearoa. The Waikato rohe has been selected due to its significant history of Māori horticultural and agricultural practises, including chook keeping.

I build on the growing corpus of mātauranga about indigenous studies. Using a postcolonial, feminist and Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework, I undertook five semi-structured interviews and one focus rōpū with Māori kaumātua. This thesis does not attempt to represent all Māori. There may be considerable difference between whānau, hapū and iwi practices. However, the rangahau provides insights into the views of eight individuals and their experiences with chooks. I have also utilised Country Calendar (1970; 1977a; 1977b and 1980) episodes and children's pukapuka such as *Nanny Mihi's Garden* (Drewery 2002) for the purposes of discourse analysis.

By listening to these stories, kaupapa including race, class and ethnicity emerge that affect the participants' everyday lives as chook keepers. The participants view chooks in a variety of ways. First, as a means of food production. By integrating chooks into their communities, the participants are able to provide a nutritious and low-cost kai source for themselves and their whānau. This attempts to at least in part address their poverty problems. Second, as a hybridised Pākehā and Māori kararehe. Third, as hysterical, comical, silly and helpless. I explore these issues within the broader context of colonial, neocolonial and anticolonial practices.

¹ For the purposes of this thesis, I write in English using some Māori words. For readers who are not familiar with the Māori terms used, a glossary has been produced (see pages 108-112).

Mihi

Tēnā koutou katoa! Ko te mahi tuatahi, me mihi, ka tika tōku kaihanga. Ko koe te orokohanga, otirā, ko koe te whakamutunga. Nō reira, tēnā koe e te matua. Ki ngā tūpuna kua huri ki tua o te ārai, e moe, e moe, e moe. Ki te hunga ora, kia ora tātou.

Ko wai au? Nō hea au? Ko Takitimu te maunga. Ko Aparima te awa. Ko Otautau te tūrangawaewae. E tuku mihi atu ana au ki a koutou, tēnā tātou katoa!

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Ūpoko Tuatahi: Tīmatanga

Rangahau Kaupapa

In this thesis I explore discourses surrounding chooks² in Māori society. I consider low-intensive (see Whakaahua 3, whārangi 45) chook keeping for domestic purposes by Māori in the Waikato rohe, Aotearoa. As a contribution to postcolonial, feminist and Māori geographies, this project provides valuable insights into (post)colonial relations in Aotearoa.

I focus the rangahau on the Waikato rohe due to its successful heritage of Māori horticultural and agricultural endeavours, including keeping chooks for domestic and commercial purposes. Due to its rich soils, prior to European contact, the Waikato rohe was more productive than other iwi (see Belich 1996 72). Once Europeans arrived in Aotearoa, Waikato Māori embraced their kararehe including chooks into their society (Stokes 1997a 11). During the early stages of European contact, keeping chooks became an economic enterprise in the Waikato rohe (King 2003 187, Stokes 1997a 11). Māori kept chooks for their hēki in domestic settings and also to sell chooks to Pākehā in the Auckland market. Chooks were also kept as a pūtake of low-fat white meat. Alongside chook keeping, growing grains for flour production also developed. Waikato Māori adopted these products into their cooking (Greensill 2005). The Waikato iwi are interesting in the way that they rapidly incorporated European kai and kararehe such as chooks into their ways of life (Greensill 2005).

In addition, the Waikato is also the home of the Kingitanga movement, established in 1858. Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was appointed the first Māori King with the goal of uniting iwi in an attempt to prevent alienation of tribal whenua (to colonial interests). The base of the Kingitanga was Ngāruawāhia until 1863 when colonial troops moved in. Although this movement has suffered difficulties in maintaining whenua bases (due to whenua sales and confiscations by the New Zealand Government), the Kingitanga remains an important part of the Waikato's identity.

² I use the word “chook” in this thesis in preference to the word “chicken”. This reflects the word choice that the rangahau participants use to describe their chickens (for a discussion of this issue, see whārangi 6-7).

In 1921, great granddaughter of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, Princess Te Puea Hērangi and other Kingitanga supporters re-established the seat of the Kingitanga in Ngāruawāhia. Subsequently, a substantial marae was built there, called Tūrangawaewae (Public Health Association of NZ 2003). Kirkpatrick (1999 45) suggests that Waikato iwi are among the dominant iwi that have spread throughout the motu. Despite this shift for mahi and other purposes, the Waikato maintains its tūrangā as the base for the Kingitanga. Furthermore, the Māori cultural renaissance and the Treaty of Waitangi settlements have encouraged Māori living in other rohe to renew their traditional iwi affiliations (Kirkpatrick 1999 45).

Pātai Matua

I am interested in (post)colonial, feminist and Māori geographies. In this thesis explores domestic chook keeping narratives as a lens through which to understand the impacts of colonialism upon some Māori in the Waikato rohe, Aotearoa. Although chooks are of colonial origin, they were rapidly adapted into Māori society. By incorporating Kaupapa Māori theoretical and methodological approaches to the rangahau, I contribute to a localised (post)colonial reading of domestic chook keeping in Aotearoa. Consequently, the main pātai that the thesis addresses is: how can focusing on chooks be used to explore and clarify understandings of the way in which colonialism has shaped aspects of contemporary Māori life in the Waikato rohe, Aotearoa?

Pātai Āpiti

In order to address this pātai matua, I interviewed a small number of Māori to explore the following pātai āpiti:

- 1) How do these Māori view chooks?
- 2) Why do they keep chooks?
- 3) How does te reo me ngā tikanga Māori impact upon chook keeping practices?
- 4) What are the impacts of historical and contemporary versions of colonialism upon my interviewees' abilities to keep chooks for commercial and domestic purposes?

The methodology chosen to conduct this rangahau allows me to consider a small number of Māori in-depth.³ Consequently, this thesis does not offer a representative sample of all Māori views about chook keeping in the Waikato rohe.

Horopaki

My graduate paper GEOG519-04A Crossing Boundaries at te Whare Wānanga o Waikato included a rangahau project as a component of the assessment. I chose to research “My Backyard, My Chooks and My Flat: A Self-Reflexive Narrative about Human-Animal Interactions in the City”. In this project I utilised postcolonial āria to explore human-animal interactions and the hierarchies of power that exist between my chooks, my flatmates and me. I wanted to continue rangahau in this area and consider chook keeping by Māori. Thus I study how some Māori view the environment and how they care for their kararehe, in particular their chooks in the Waikato rohe.

For the purposes of this thesis the Waikato is defined as a part of the Tainui waka. Whakaahua 1 (see whārangi 4) depicts the important geographical features that are specific to the participants’ connections to the Waikato rohe. It is a different space to what is traditionally called the Waikato and is illustrated in a non-Western manner. This reflects the Waikato whakataukī:

Mōkau ki runga, Tāmaki ki raro Maunga-toatoa ki waenganui. Ko Parewaikato, ko Parehauraki, ko Te Kaokaoroa-o-Pātetere. Mōkau above, Tāmaki below, Manga-toatoa in the centre. Parewaikato, Parehauraki, the extended arm of Pātetere (McKinnon 1997 plate 19).

This representation shows the participants’ understanding of the Māori perspective of Aotearoa as a fish whereby Pōneke is the head and Cape Reinga is the tail. Consequently, one rangahau participant, Aneta, refers to “heading down” from Te Awamutu to Kirikiriroa and “heading up” from Kēmureti to Otorohanga.

In addition to the participants’ current residences (many in Kirikiriroa), Whakaahua 1 (see whārangi 4) shows their connections with rural wāhi where they keep chooks or

³ For a discussion of the methodologies employed in this project, see Ūpoko Tuatoru: Huarahi Mahi (whārangi 25-41).

Whakaahua 1: The Participants' Understandings of the Waikato Rohe and Important Geographical Features Relevant to the Rangahau



Pūtake: Max Oulton, Cartographer, te Wāhanga Arowhenua, te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, 2006.

once kept chooks. It also shows other significant landmarks such as Te Aroha and Taupiri maunga as well as Waipā and Waikato awa, which are important to Waikato Māori as part of their cultural heritage. In particular, the choice to show Waikato awa and Taupiri maunga reflects the following tribal saying:

ko Waikato te awa. Ko Taupiri te maunga. Ko Te Wherowhero te tangata. Waikato is the river. Taupiri is the mountain. Te Wherowhero is the man (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand 2006a).

By referring to Te Wherowhero as their leader and Taupiri as their sacred maunga this pepeha demonstrates the strong connections between Waikato iwi and the Kingitanga movement. All of the Māori kings and other prominent Waikato rangatira are buried on Taupiri maunga (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand 2006a).

The Waikato and Waipā awa hold historical importance for Waikato Māori as cultural icons but also as avenues to transport merchandise such as chooks, to markets in Auckland and afar. Stokes (1997b 37-38) highlights the importance of the Waikato awa to Waikato iwi:

the river was the sustenance of the Waikato, not only for its food, or its importance as a transport route, but also its spiritual significance in ritual and tradition. The principal settlements of Waikato tribes were on its banks, hence the meaning of the second part of the pepeha: Waikato of the many chiefs, at every bend of the river is a taniwha, an image to denote both the villages on the banks, and the leaders and protective taniwha in the river.

The Waikato awa is the longest in the motu and is a source of mauri, mana, identity and pride for Waikato Māori. Several of the participants discussed the importance of these water systems to their chook keeping practices. Hei tauira, Huia and Becky collected wai māori daily from creeks for their chooks to increase their hēki production.

I illustrate the significance of the Kingitanga movement to Waikato Māori by including Tūrangawaewae marae, Kēmureti township and Pirongia in the definition of the Waikato rohe. These geographical features have been selected in accordance with the second Māori King, Tāwhiao's saying:

ko Arekahānara tōku haona kaha. Ko Kemureti tōku oko horoi. Ko Ngāruawāhia tōku tūrangawaewae. Alexandra [present day Pirongia] will ever be a symbol of my strength of character. Cambridge a symbol of my wash bowl of sorrow. And Ngāruawāhia my footstool (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand 2006b).

As the home of the Native Land Court, Kēmureti is referred to as “tōku oko horoi” or “a symbol of my wash bowl of sorrow” (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand 2006b). This reflects King Tāwhiao’s disappointment at the Waikato whenua that was alienated by Māori through these legal processes. This loss of whenua is significant to this rangahau because it may have contributed to the poverty experienced by many of the participants.

Positionality

I am originally from Otautau in the South Island of Aotearoa, however my immediate family has resided in the Waikato rohe for the past six tau. My whānau have kept chooks for domestic purposes from when I was a young child until the present day. I perceive that my positionality to this rangahau is helpful because it enables me to better understand the participants’ experiences.

I am in a unique position as a Pākehā Māori to carry out this rangahau because I can relate to the participants, their tikanga and reo. My ethnicity and fluency in te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā enabled participants to speak in Māori, te reo Pākehā and/or a mixture. This helped the participants to feel more confident in their communications. However, I have spent most of my life living in Titirangi, West Auckland, which has a significantly higher socio-economic status to parts of rural Waikato (where many of the participants keep or kept chooks). Consequently I found it difficult to relate to the level of poverty in these parts because I had not been previously exposed to it. However, I think this is useful because it prompted me explore this issue of poverty within the context of colonialism in an attempt to understand poverty.

The Politics of Reo

The issue of which kupu to use in this thesis when discussing chickens was initially problematic. The information and consent forms (see Āpitianga 1 and 2, whārangi 99-100) I gave to potential participants explain the kaupapa as “chicken farming”. Upon receiving the information and consent forms, several of the participants expressed concern because they did not fit the criteria to participate. These concerns

were based on the principle that they felt that the term “chicken farmer” refers to a person who intensively farms chickens for commercial purposes.

Consequently, I asked all participants what kupu they use to describe their chickens and their method of farming them. The predominant response was “chook keeping” or “keeping chooks”. The participants felt that this better describes their low-intensive enterprises mainly for domestic purposes. There were a variety of kupu that the participants used to describe their female and male chickens. However, the majority of participants used the word “hens” interchangeably with “chooks” to refer to all male, female and baby chickens. Occasionally, participants described their choos according to their breed. Hei tauira, Daniel, Joseph and Josh talked about their matua’s “Chinese Silky”. Becky also spoke about her “Bantam”. Notwithstanding the above, the predominant term used was “chooks”. Thus, the change from writing “chicken farming” to “chook keeping” and “chickens” to “chooks” in this thesis is deliberate. It reflects the participants’ identities and linguistic preferences.

I have included many Māori kupu in the thesis, following Te Taura i te reo Māori’s (2006) orthographic conventions for writing te reo Māori. Consequently, I have used a universal form of te reo Māori.⁴ This means that I do not conform to the dialect most commonly used in the Waikato rohe. I perceive this as helpful because it increases the range of iwi that may read this thesis to gain insights into a postcolonial reading of some Māori chook keepers in the Waikato.

Ūpoko Outline

In this introduction, I explain the kaupapa of this thesis, “Keeping Chooks at Home in the Waikato: Exploring Postcolonial, Feminist and Kaupapa Māori Perspectives”. First, I introduce the rangahau focus by providing readers with the rangahau pātai. Second, I explain the horopaki for undertaking this study.

⁴ I have also employed *tohu tō* wherever necessary. Consequently, I have been careful to be consistent in using *tohu tō* throughout this thesis. However, I have presented all quotations in their original form. In some cases these quotations do not use macrons for kupu such as “Māori” and “Pākehā”. This may have been because international publishers did not welcome such conventions.

I explore the historical connection between Waikato Māori and chook keeping. I explain the Kingitanga movement's influence upon Waikato iwi. I include Whakaahua 1 (see whārangi 4) to clarify the definition of the Waikato rohe. This whakaahua includes important geographical features that are referred to by participants and me throughout this thesis. Third, I explain my tūranga in relation to this rangahau. Fourth, I discuss reo issues that are important to this rangahau. I now introduce the remainder of the ūpoko in this thesis.

In ūpoko tuarua I discuss the main bodies of literature that have informed this mahi: postcolonial, feminist and Māori geographies. In this analysis I suggest that a localised approach to postcolonial rangahau is useful. Hence, I weave Kaupapa Māori, a Māori theoretical and methodological approach, into the framework. This influences the methodology choice - semi-structured interviews, focus rōpū and discourse analysis. These methods are discussed in Ūpoko Tuatoru: Huarahi Mahi. In this ūpoko I outline ethical issues, my positionality to the rangahau, data collection and analysis techniques. I also introduce the rangahau participants.

There are three substantive ūpoko in this thesis. Ūpoko Tuawhā: Case Studies of Māori Chook Keepers explores Daniel, Aneta and Becky's experiences keeping chooks. I highlight the differences and similarities between these three narratives.

The fifth ūpoko, "(Post)colonial Identities": Māori Chook Keepers Talk (Post)colonialism, Class and Ethnicity investigates intersecting issues of racialised capitalism, colonialism and neocolonialism. The affects of these factors may explain the low socio-economic status that many of the participants occupy. I explore possible reasons for this poverty. I situate the participants in the Waikato rohe where historical and contemporary processes of colonialism have created a colonial underclass, Māori. I also address the ways that some Māori attempt to challenge this poverty by embracing chooks into their lifestyles and value systems. This is read as a means of self-sufficiency and financial independence.

Ūpoko Tuaono: "Silly Old Chook", Gender Issues Surrounding Chooks and their Keepers discusses themes of gender and sexuality in relation to chooks. In this

analysis, representations of chooks as hysterical, comical, silly and helpless emerge. I situate these ideas within a broader horopaki of postcolonial feminist āria.

Ūpoko Tuawhitu: Whakarāpopototanga addresses the pātai of this rangahau. I summarise the key kaupapa that I raise in this rangahau. In this ūpoko I indicate the important contribution to postcolonial geography that this innovative piece of rangahau offers. I conclude by suggesting future rangahau possibilities.

Ūpoko Tuarua: Literature Review

The main bodies of literature that have influenced the direction of this thesis are: postcolonial, feminist and Kaupapa Māori geographies. First, I discuss postcolonial āria and its connection to this thesis. I draw from international theorists such as Bhabha, Frankenburg and Mani, hooks,⁵ Loomba, McClintock, Mohanty and Spivak to consider the impacts of colonialism upon the participants' experiences of chook keeping in postcolonial Aotearoa. Second, I include reference to postcolonial theorists who consider issues of gender and sexuality. Third, I explain the link between postcolonialism and Kaupapa Māori, the Māori perspective that I employ in this thesis. I weave these three perspectives together to create a space wherein discourses of being Māori, colonialism, gender and sexuality can be considered concurrently.

Postcolonialism

In this rangahau I draw from postcolonial āria to read the participants' diverse and contradictory narratives about chook keeping in the Waikato rohe. Postcolonial āria focuses on issues of difference, orientalism and otherness, hybridity and the subaltern⁶ or colonial underclass (hooks 1997). This theory is interdisciplinary (Blunt and Wills 2000 167). Important authors in this area include: Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Blunt and Wills 2000 168).

Postcolonial āria is complex but in a literal sense, postcolonialism refers to a wā, which has been preceded by colonisation (Johnston *et al* 2000 614). The following extract from Blunt and Wills (2000 170, italics in original) explores the problematic nature of placing postcolonialism in a timeframe:

in light of the difficulties of referring to a clearly defined postcolonial era, many writers refer to postcolonialism as being *beyond* rather than necessarily *after* colonialism. In this case, the 'post' in 'postcolonialism' refers more to a critical than to a temporal aftermath

⁵ bell hooks (nee Gloria Watkins) has chosen to use her grandmother's name to "honor both her grandmother and her mother, as well as provide her the opportunity to establish a separate voice from the person Gloria Watson" (Anonymous 2004 1). She writes her entire name in lower case.

⁶ Johnston *et al* (2000 801) define a subaltern as "the collective agency of exploited, oppressed and marginalized groups".

as postcolonial perspectives explore and resist colonial and neo-colonial power and knowledge.

Frankenburg and Mani (1996 361) suggest that colonialism and postcolonialism are intertwined. Furthermore, postcolonialisms and postcolonial horopaki are highly complex and political wāhi (Mohanty 1991 53). Postcolonialism has multiple meanings and “as with cultural geography, the boundaries of what counts as postcolonialism are also fluid” (Nash 2002 219). In this thesis I consider the impacts of colonialism in its historical and contemporary forms upon Māori chook keepers (as will be discussed below), the colonial underclass in Aotearoa.

In order to better comprehend postcolonial perspectives, McClintock (1992 87) suggests that it is helpful to understand processes of colonisation:

the term “post-colonialism” should not be understood as everything that has happened since European colonialism but rather everything that has happened from the very beginning of colonialism, which means turning back the clocks and unrolling the maps of “postcolonialism” to 1492, and earlier.

Postcolonialism is a series of global and local processes originating from the birth of colonial interests and activities. To apply this aspect of postcolonial āria to the thesis, I have considered historical and contemporary colonial practices in the Waikato rohe that have had an effect on Māori. By investigating kāwanatanga introduced legislative and military policies in this rohe,⁷ I can better understand important issues (such as poverty and hybridity) that affect the rangahau participants’ everyday experiences as chook keepers.

Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism is multi-faceted as it involves control of the military, economic, political

⁷ Hei tauira, in Ūpoko Tuarima: “(Post)colonial Identities”, (Post)colonialism, Class and Ethnicity I address the effects of colonial interferences in relation to Māori chook keeping enterprises in the Waikato rohe. Specifically, I make reference to the impacts of the colonial invasion of the Waikato rohe (during the 1860s) and consequent raupatu of whenua. I also discuss a colonial institution, the Native Land Court, and its implications for Waikato Māori (see whārangi 63-65).

and social dynamics of a country (Johnston *et al* 1994 75-77). Loomba (1998 2) defines colonialism thus:

colonialism was not an identical process in different parts of the world but everywhere it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history.

European countries have historically been significant in their colonial “influence extending over vast areas in Asia, Africa, the Americas and Australasia” (Blunt and Wills 2000 172). Blunt and Wills (2000 180) describe this colonialism as a cultural project, whereby discourses were promoted that “helped to legitimate and to perpetuate colonial power”. For the purposes of this thesis, neocolonialism is a new form of colonialism in the contemporary setting.⁸

Although colonialism is a variant of imperialism, it is helpful to separate and define the two kupu. Imperialism is the idea of subordination and domination over space whereas colonialism is the practice of imposing imperialism by conquest and territorial expansion. Blunt and Wills (2000 176) describe imperialism as encompassing “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory”.

The Crown’s involvement in conflicts in the Waikato rohe during the 1860s and subsequent raupatu of ancestral whenua can be read as an act of colonialism (Belich 1996 230-231). This military invasion of the Waikato was an attempt to challenge Māori economic,⁹ political and social structures. Belich (1996 230-231) argues that the Crown’s decision to invade was not a matter of land but rather about asserting their sovereignty. He also postulates that the Crown’s involvement in the Waikato Wars was over an idea of conquest rather than primarily over whenua.

The precedents and prophesies of empire and settlement, the self-images of governors and settlers, the ethos of a colonising and

⁸ Hei tauria, the kāwanatanga interference with Māori customary ownership of the foreshore and seabed of Aotearoa can be interpreted as an act of neocolonialism (Greensill 2005).

⁹ This included enterprises such as chook keeping for domestic and commercial purposes. Keeping chooks during this period was an economically productive activity for Waikato Māori (for a detailed discussion of this issue, see Ūpoko Tuarima: “(Post)colonial Identities”, (Post)colonialism, Class and Ethnicity, whārangi 62-64).

progressive race, demanded that the British rule the whole of New Zealand in fact as well as name. To people subject to the myths of empire, and to hardening racial ideologies, there was something unnatural, unEuropean, about white communities living in equal partnership with blacks. If New Zealand had contained no land at all, and Pakeha and Maori had both been societies of boat people, these ideologies might still have pressured the former to assert their sway over the latter (Belich 1996 230-231).

This quotation draws attention to the ideological construct of supremacy that underpins the colonial military invasion of the Waikato. Belich (1996 239) suggests that the British victory in the Waikato rohe was “limited but real and a turning point in New Zealand history.” This is because it created an unbalanced power relationship between the coloniser, Pākehā and the colonised, Māori. Prior to the Waikato conflicts, Māori had a strong economic base for a variety of horticultural and agricultural activities including chook keeping, which was negatively impacted by colonial interference.

The Role of Written and Visual Texts

In the early years of colonialism, journals and sketches were the main representational tools for creating colonial hierarchies and orders (hooks 1995 42-43; McKinnon 1997 plate 35). In addition, other representational practices such as landscape painting, sketching, engravings, maps and later photography portrayed a particular type of landscape. These images produced discourses that colonists could use for the purposes of exploitation and control of people and rauemi (Orange 1996 21). Written texts such as travelogues, exploration literature and scientific rīpoata also contributed to this body of colonial mātauranga.

The deconstruction of these written and visual colonial texts, representations and discourses is central to postcolonial āria (hooks 1995 42-43; Johnston *et al* 2000 612). Blunt and Wills (2000 202) agree. They highlight the need for postcolonial theorists to consider:

the impact of colonialism in the past and in the present, investigate the links between colonial forms of power and knowledge, and resist

colonialism and colonial representations of the world (Blunt and Wills 2000 202).

The discipline of geography is embedded within colonial discourses. However, in this piece of geographical rangahau I employ a postcolonial geographical perspective, which attempts to critique the impacts of colonialism in Aotearoa. While postcolonial studies are quite diverse and the forms of colonialism are also diverse, generally, postcolonial theorists are anticolonial.

Consequently, the map that is included in this thesis (see Whakaahua 1, whārangī 4) has been designed specifically for this rangahau. It is a postcolonial representation of the Waikato. The dominant reo on this whakaahua is te reo Māori rather than te reo Pākehā. I have included Waikato pepeha and geographical features that are important to the participants' understanding of their rohe, the Waikato. In summary, I perceive this map as a contribution to anticolonial representations of the Waikato rohe.

The European colonial settlement of Aotearoa radically transformed its cultural, political, social and economic dynamics (Belich 1996 119). There were particular discursive portrayals of 'colonialism' and 'the coloniser'. On the one hand, the British Crown was represented as altruistic, humanitarian, evangelistic and paternalistic in their concern for Māori. On the other hand, Māori were represented as heathen, uncivilised and childlike (King 2003 152-153; Orange 1996 42-43). Through the process of colonisation, Aotearoa was turned into the little "Britain of the South" (Belich 1996 119). Consequently, Aotearoa's natural landscape was also reconstructed to serve the objectives of the British Empire. Hei tauira, by felling the rākau and changing the ngāhere into so-called productive pastures, there was a radical transformation of the physical landscape. According to McKinnon (1997 plate 33), "colonists sought to remake the physical and spiritual 'wilderness' they encountered into an image of their homeland".

There were two avenues used to create colonies. First, through settlement schemes, such as Great Britain's settler colonies (New Zealand, United States and Canada) and second through indirect rule by an elite few who had strong institutional backing (hei tauira, British rule over India and Fiji). Religion was an important tool of colonial

powers. In 1814, Samuel Marsden established the first mission in Aotearoa on behalf of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to evangelise to Māori. These missionaries were sent from Britain to “civilise as the first steps to conversion” the Māori population (Orange 1996 29). Civilisation was enforced through education, bureaucratisation and legal processes. The CMS missionaries instructed Māori “in horticulture, agriculture and trade, in European manners and morals” (King 2003 141). It was during this wā that chooks were introduced into Māori society. The missionaries were responsible for teaching Māori to care for them.

Othering and Orientalism

Johnston *et al* (2000 614) postulates that postcolonialists seek to understand the production of colonial texts in such a way that destabilises the centrality of Eurocentric assumptions about the rest of the world. In other words, postcolonial theorists deconstruct the ‘western’ self verses the colonised ‘other’.¹⁰

Edward Said’s significant pukapuka *Orientalism* (1978) explores the concept of the occident as the ‘norm’ and the orient as the ‘other’ (Blunt and Wills 2000 182). By separating the occident and the orient, a bipolar opposite or Cartesian dualism is created. It is now well documented that western thought is characterised by Cartesian dualisms (Campbell 1999 240-241). Cartesian dualism is an expression of the way that western society has separated nature and culture, black and white, Māori and Pākehā and so on. Waller (1998 338) refers to historical and political discourses in Aotearoa whereby Māori have been ‘othered’ by a Pākehā hegemonic and colonial rōpū. Nash (2002 219) suggests that racial identity is subject to the colonial heritage of a country, a point which I consider as I unpack narratives of chook keeping.

On the one hand, the participants perceive chooks to be a colonial kararehe and consequently as a member of Pākehā. On the other hand, the participants view chooks

¹⁰ Whakaahua 6 (see whārangi 76) displays this issue in relation to how the participants perceive chooks.

to be a Māori kararehe and belong to their culture. In this sense, the participants believe that chooks merge Pākehā and Māori cultures.¹¹

Hybridity

Postcolonial theorists attempt to understand the impacts of colonialism. This includes consideration of cultural and intellectual hybridity. McDowell and Sharp (1999 131) define hybridity as:

the offspring of human groups who transgress established social categories, including differences of class, race, ethnicity. The term cultural hybrid is used also to refer to groups as a mixture of local and non-local influences. Their character and cultural attributes are a product of contact with the world beyond a local place.

According to Blunt and Wills (2000 187-189), Bhabha considers hybridity by examining colonial stereotypes and relationships between the coloniser and the colonised.

Jackson (1998) asserts that hybridity creates space for cultural diversity. In the rangahau I have become aware of the impact of cultural and intellectual hybridity. Hei tauira, Aneta, one of the participants, held uniquely Māori ideas about caring for her chooks.¹² Although she was deeply aware of their alien status to Aotearoa, she described her chooks as possessing their own source of mana and mauri. Aneta felt that chooks should be treated with the highest degree of respect (as should all living things). She described her mātua as the spiritual kaitiaki for the chooks. Consequently, her mātua regularly conducted karakia for them. In the ways that Aneta's whānau cared for their chooks, they intertwined this non-indigenous, introduced species into their own 'traditional' Māori value system.¹³

¹¹ I explore this issue further in Ūpoko Tuarima: "(Post)colonial Identities", Māori Chook Keepers Talk (Post)colonialism, Class and Ethnicity (see whārangi 60-83).

¹² I highlight several important aspects of Aneta's approach to keeping chooks in Ūpoko Tuawhā: Case Studies of Māori Chook Keepers (see whārangi 49-54).

¹³ In Ūpoko Tuarima: "(Post)colonial Identities", Māori Chook Keepers Talk (Post)colonialism, Class and Ethnicity, I discuss the inclusion of tikanga Māori into chook keeping practices (see whārangi 79-83).

Furthermore, I spoke to a couple of participants about the names that they use to call their chooks. As I listened to the words and names that they used to describe their chooks: heihei, tame heihei, specific names such as Rā and so on. I realised that these were significant. One participant, Aneta used mostly Māori words and names. Why did she prefer Māori terms and names? One interpretation is that this naming process could be read as an adaption of these kararehe, which are embedded within a colonial construct, into Māoritanga.

Postcolonial Feminism

Feminism's commitment to interdisciplinarity and internationalism has made it central to encounters between development and postcolonial studies in recent years (Laurie 2004 99).

As a postcolonial study, this rangahau combines postcolonial and feminist āria to unpack gender, sexuality and colonial issues that participants raised during interviews. Several of the participants discussed their gender and the gender of their chooks as important issues when reflecting on their narratives of chook keeping. In this section, therefore, I consider gender in relation to spatiality. Postcolonial feminism is situated in the 'feminist geographies of difference' section (see Whakaahua 2, whārangi 18). This acknowledges that there is a multiplicity of understandings within the discipline of geography. According to Wagar (2004 31) a feminist geography of difference arose from a desire to challenge universal truths.

Johnston *et al* (1994 261) suggest that:

feminist geographers are increasingly attentive to the differences in the construction of gender relations across races, ethnicities, ages, religions, sexualities, and nationalities, and to exploitative relations among women who are positioned in varying ways along these multiple axes of difference.

This section focuses on issues of gender and processes of colonialism, which are racialised. This perspective helps me to consider the narratives of Māori chook keepers (both female and male) by considering issues including race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality simultaneously.

Whakaahua 2: Three Strands of Feminist Geography

THE GEOGRAPHY OF WOMEN

Topical focus:	Theoretical influences:	Geographical focus:
description of the effects of gender inequality	welfare geography, liberal feminism	constraints of distance and spatial separation

SOCIALIST FEMINIST GEOGRAPHY

Topical focus:	Theoretical influences:	Geographical focus:
explanation of inequality, and relations between capitalism and patriarchy	marxism, socialist feminism	spatial separation, gender place, localities

FEMINIST GEOGRAPHIES OF DIFFERENCE

Topical focus:	Theoretical influences:	Geographic focus:
The construction of gendered, heter(sexed) identities; differences among women; gender and constructions of nature; heteropatriarchy and geopolitics	cultural, poststructural, postcolonial, psychoanalytic theories; writings of women of colour, lesbian women, gay men, women from 'developing' countries	micro-geographies of the body; mobile identities; distance, separation and place; imaginative geographies; colonialisms and postcolonialisms; environment/nature

Pūtake: Johnston *et al* (2000 260).

bell hooks is well known for her insights on issues such as gender, blackness, sexuality, nationality and other forms of difference. Her pukapuka *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* (1994) and *Ain't I a Woman* (1981) discuss black bodies and their relationships with wāhi. In 'traditional' forms of geography, hegemonic masculine, heterosexual, racist, colonial and middle class rōpū controlled the discipline. This meant that women were often marginalised, excluded or 'othered' by the rangahau process. While feminist geographers sought to radically challenge traditional geography by including wāhine and their experiences in the rangahau

process, they have also marginalised other rōpū. Walker (2005 98) reports that “this difference ‘machine’ constructs Woman as Outsider by inscribing boundaries on the ways that women can be in certain urban spaces”. However, McDowell and Sharp (1999 108) argue that feminists are recognising the differences between women’s experiences due to race, ethnicity, age, religion, class, sexuality and nationality.

Feminist cultural geographers seek to unpack gender issues when examining people and place relationships. Furthermore, they challenge traditional forms of culturally constructed androcentric and patriarchal ideologies, which marginalise wāhine, their mahi and places of domain (Rose 1993 1). The majority of feminist work conducted in the 1970s and 1980s was taken from the perspective of white, middle-class and mainly heterosexual wāhine (Mohanty 1991 6). The feminist movement challenges myths that have evolved to disempower, exclude and marginalise wāhine (Women and Geography Study Group 1997 4-5). In attempting to destabilise and critique gender issues, indigenous rōpū such as Māori have been marginalised from the field of geography and their views have largely been ignored (Yates-Smith 1998 43). Kobayashi (1994 xiii) discusses this issue:

the necessity of putting the feminist critique into a multicultural context has also become clearer. In addition to studying the interaction between genders along economic/political/class lines, therefore, we here examine the link between gender and “race” or ethnicity.

I have followed this advice in this rangahau by incorporating postcolonial, feminist and Kaupapa Māori approaches to analyse gender issues that my participants raised about chook keeping.

Given that the feminist movement has been evolving for over three decades, why have Māori been so slow to become involved? There are many other significant power struggles for Māori wāhine such as living with the impacts of colonisation and neo-colonisation (Yates-Smith 1998 43). By comparison, the battle against patriarchy is perhaps not as significant. Thus I engage in postcolonial feminism to incorporate the study of race, sexuality and gender issues.

During the 1970s and 1980s, feminists critiqued wāhine in the workforce. The main focus of their rangahau was middle to upper class, well educated housewives. In this process, black working class wāhine that were “most exploited by American economics” were overlooked (hooks 1998 146).

In America, white racist ideology has always allowed white women to assume that the word woman is synonymous with white woman, for women of other races are always perceived as Others, as de-humanized beings who do not fall under the heading woman (hooks 1981 138-139).

In attempting to destabilise and critique gender issues, hooks postulates that the feminist movement was racist because it gave very little space to black wāhine (hooks 1981 136-137).

There is now a growing desire within the feminist movement to include black wāhine, however, hooks (1981 147) suggests that this may be tokenism. She describes how women’s liberationist groups sometimes include only one black woman on panels for discussion in order to appear to be politically correct:

white women liberationists decided that the way to confront racism was to speak out in consciousness-raising groups about their racist upbringings, to encourage black women to join their cause, to make sure they hired one non-white woman in “their” women’s studies program, or to invite one non-white woman to speak on a discussion panel at “their” conference (hooks 1981 149).

In this quotation hooks addresses the tokenism that has occurred in the monocultural context that has engulfed the white feminist movement. Consequently, I intertwine a Māori approach to my postcolonial feminist āria to analyse issues of gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity.

Kaupapa Māori

As I have considered postcolonialism and its relevance to the rangahau, I have become increasingly aware of the need to localise this theory to the Aotearoa

horopaki. I have decided to include a Māori strand to the ways in which I analyse the rangahau.

Tuhiwai Smith (1999 125) refers to the inclusion of Māori theoretical approaches as Kaupapa Māori. Although Kaupapa Māori is often used purely as a methodology, I argue that it can also be considered as a perspective. This is because of the ways that Kaupapa Māori rangahau elevates the status of tikanga Māori, te reo Māori and Māori worldviews.¹⁴

A Kaupapa Māori approach allows the kairangahau to focus on issues relevant to Māori communities. In Aotearoa, there is a history of monocultural rangahau whereby Pākehā views have dominated. In Larner's (1995 177) work on feminist rangahau, she highlights the need for localised Māori mātauranga to be included in feminist rangahau. This is an example of the growing desire within the discipline of geography to include Māori perspectives. By using a Kaupapa Māori perspective, I seek to include the voice of the 'subaltern' into this postcolonial project.

How then do I include a Māori perspective into this project? Evelyn Stokes (1987 121), a prominent scholar, academic and teacher who specialises in Māori geography, suggests that it has much to do with the kairangahau. The kairangahau does not necessarily have to identify as Māori but needs to learn to understand issues through a 'Māori lens' or a Māori worldview. Stokes (1987 121) gives the following advice to geographers in Aotearoa working on projects with Māori communities:

you must be prepared to serve a long apprenticeship of learning on the marae. You must know the language and understand the culture. You must acquire he ngakau Maori [a Māori heart]. You must show respect for the tapu of knowledge.

Therefore, it is by recognising the importance of tikanga Māori and embracing te reo Māori in theory and practice that I am able to include Kaupapa Māori theory in the thesis.

¹⁴ See the following ūpoko, whārangi 25-28 for more discussion of Kaupapa Māori with particular reference to this rangahau.

Critique of Kaupapa Māori

I am critical, however, of the ways that kairangahau employing Kaupapa Māori approaches to rangahau often essentialise Māoritanga. After reading a broad range of literature, discussing this kaupapa with others that are involved in Māori rangahau, and conducting my own rangahau using this perspective, I have concluded that Māori rangahau is not intrinsically unique. Although it is unique in the way that it esteems te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (such as whanaungatanga connections, the value that oral histories and kānohi-kitea), some kairangahau use qualitative methodologies also value behaving in culturally astute ways (hei tauira, see Tolich and Davidson 1999 5-6, 27, 30-31).

Tuhiwai Smith (1999 130) argues that Māori directed rangahau (such as Ngāti Awa's tribal university, te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi) provide examples of the ways that Māori are benefiting and being empowered from the rangahau process. Perhaps by considering the rangahau aims of such organisations we can better understand why it is that they are benefiting Māori communities. The Research Unit for Maori Education at the University of Auckland was formed in 1988 and its aims are to:

promote Maori research which was going to make a positive difference; to develop strategies for influencing Maori educational policy, to develop and train Maori researchers; to disseminate research to Maori audiences through publications and through regular contact with communities; and to create an environment for change within the institution (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 130-132).

I read these aims within a general caution towards quantitative Eurocentric rangahau. Prior to the 1970s, kairangahau tended to produce reports that were not implemented and painted a negative image of Māori communities (mainly as unhealthy, uneducated and violent). Thus, the drive for using more Māori theoretical and methodological approaches is a backlash to this essentialist construction of the Māori population as the exotic 'other' (Barnes 2004). Furthermore, Barnes (2004) suggests that Māori approaches to rangahau are an attempt to create a space whereby a positive association with rangahau is created for Māori. It is in this context that kairangahau using the Kaupapa Māori approach are attentive to using culturally appropriate frameworks.

In the case of Kaupapa Māori rangahau, I argue that by focussing on the importance of te reo Māori that it draws upon essentialised notions of race that constructs all Māori as fluent speakers of te reo Māori and excludes those who are not fluent. Originally I wanted to write the entire thesis in te reo Māori. Perhaps I was idealistic, like Pihama (no date provided), I wanted to contribute to a body of indigenous mātauranga produced in its own tongue. However, as I engaged with the process of documenting the rangahau, I became increasingly aware that the choice of which reo to write in was problematic and political. If I write only in the reo of the coloniser, English, this could be read as an act that excludes the reo of the colonised, Māori. However, if I write all text in the medium of te reo Māori, then I might exclude some readers (including many of the participants). This is because they may not be able to read te reo Māori. The mahi could have been written in te reo Māori and translated into te reo Pākehā. However, I was concerned that the essence of the thesis may become lost in this translation. After due consideration, I decided to write in te reo Pākehā with as many Māori kupu as possible.¹⁵ This includes: ūpoko titles, subtitles, throughout the main body of the text; in whakaahua and in the āpītitanga.

This bilingual technique: (1) attempts to overcome the aforementioned issues by incorporating both reo; (2) is a reflection of the bicultural identities of the participants; and (3) challenges the monolingual style that mātauranga has historically been presented in Aotearoa, in both pre and postcolonial horopaki. Consequently, I believe the aforementioned issues compensate for the difficulties that some readers may have with this document. Furthermore, I have provided a comprehensive glossary of all Māori kupu used (see whārangi 108-112) to assist those that may be less familiar with te reo Māori. I disagree with Pihama's (no date provided) argument that glossaries are unnecessary. By including a glossary, I am making the thesis more accessible to those that are not fluent in te reo Māori. I hope that by consistently using Māori terms throughout the thesis that my mahi will be educational to readers. Perhaps this increased mātauranga will motivate readers who are less familiar with te reo Māori to include Māori terms in their mahi. However, I have not italicised and provided

¹⁵ However, in several instances I changed the Māori kupu "take" to its English equivalent "reason(s)", "matter(s)" or "issue(s)". This was to minimise confusion given that the word "take" has meaning in te reo Pākehā and te reo Māori.

English equivalents within the main body of the document. This formatting decision also communicates the importance te reo Māori holds as an official reo in Aotearoa.

I think that by presuming that the use of te reo Māori as the only means of communication for Kaupapa Māori rangahau it excludes those who are not fluent in te reo. Furthermore, it does not take into account the diversity of being Māori in a postcolonial society where many Māori are not able to communicate effectively in te reo Māori. I situate this inability due to processes of colonisation.¹⁶

Whakarāpopototanga

In this analysis I have discussed the three main bodies of literature that underpin this thesis: postcolonial, feminist and Kaupapa Māori geographies. By considering the postcolonial context I seek to unpack the influences of colonialism upon the participants and the ways that they interact with their environments. I also include a Kaupapa Māori approach. I seek to weave these perspectives together to create a space whereby the participants' narratives about keeping chooks may be heard.

In this rangahau I have critiqued the ways that Kaupapa Māori has been essentialised due to a narrow reading of Māori identity and culture. I acknowledge that there are several important facets of Kaupapa Māori rangahau, which I have attempted to engage with. I perceive Kaupapa Māori rangahau as a series of social interactions, not a set of rules to strictly abide by. I acknowledge that although it is important to behave in culturally appropriate manners, it is also important to remain flexible in the approach to Kaupapa Māori rangahau. In this way, Kaupapa Māori rangahau can be viewed as a useful tool rather than an essentialised and limiting perspective of Māoritanga. I explore these issues further in the following ūpoko.

¹⁶ In Ūpoko Tuawhā: Case Studies of Māori Chook Keepers (see whārangi 53-54) I highlight the impacts of the Pākehā dominated educational system that has affected one of the participant's, Aneta's Māori language abilities.

Ūpoko Tuatoru: Huarahi Mahi

The Kaupapa Māori framework influences the choice of rangahau methodologies: semi-structured interviews, focus rōpū and discourse analysis. In the rangahau I attempt to create opportunities for the participants to feel comfortable engaging with te reo me ngā tikanga Māori.

For this project, I conducted five semi-structured interviews and one focus rōpū with Māori kaumātua or key informants. I also undertook two semi-structured interviews and one focus rōpū with Pākehā key informants to help me to crystallise understandings of race and ethnicity issues.

In addition to this, I conducted discourse analysis on a variety of texts including: contemporary children's pukapuka; internet websites; television programmes; and farming and animal magazines. The use of different pūtake of qualitative information is called triangulation, which adds more validity to the kitenga (Valentine 1997 112).

Kaupapa Māori

Although much rangahau has been conducted on indigenous populations, such as Māori communities, Tuhiwai Smith (1999 1) suggests that Māori communities have been passive in the rangahau process. However in recent years there has been a shift to include more Māori theoretical and methodological approaches, which are often referred to as Kaupapa Māori (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 125). I situate this move within a general rise in interest about using qualitative methodologies, which were a response to the quantitative revolution that tended to rely on a Eurocentric framework (Barnes 2004).

I argue that although some aspects of Kaupapa Māori rangahau are unique and specific to Māori communities, qualitative kairangahau are also interested in conducting rangahau that is culturally appropriate and use a variety of methodologies including community based approaches (Tolich and Davidson 1999 31).

There are several important aspects of Kaupapa Māori rangahau; first, whakapapa and whanaungatanga connections; second, inter-generational team work; third, behaving in ceremonial and culturally appropriate ways; fourth, use of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori; and fifth, involvement of Māori communities in shaping rangahau design and respect. Kaupapa Māori kairangahau, like qualitative kairangahau, use a variety of methods in an attempt to understand complex social realities.

Tuhiwai Smith (1999 125) asserts that some Māori kairangahau do not use terms like ‘research’, ‘theory’, ‘methodology’ and other academic jargon and prefer to use the term ‘Kaupapa Māori’ when referring to Māori rangahau. She argues that:

this form of naming is about bringing to the centre and privileging indigenous values, attitudes and practices rather than disguising them within Western labels (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 125).

Central to Tuhiwai Smith’s argument is that valuing te reo me ngā tikanga Māori challenges colonial discourses that have influenced rangahau.

Māori rangahau is a process whereby tangata whenua also benefit. Hei tauira, in rangahau conducted by staff from te Wāhanga Arowhenua at te Whare Wānanga o Waikato for the Waitangi Tribunal, the kairangahau felt that they were “tagging along” as they did their field work. It was in this context that the kaumātua shared narratives about their ancestral whenua and passed on mātauranga not only to the kairangahau but also to other members of their community that attended interviews (Kirkpatrick *et al* 2004).

Hemara (2000) agrees that a key aspect to Kaupapa Māori rangahau is a teamwork approach in which younger and older people work together on projects and inter-generational relationships are fostered. In my rangahau, younger whānau members attended interviews and listened into the kōrero that were shared about their whānau’s connections to whenua, chooks and other kararehe. The process was mutually enriching for everyone involved in the process. I felt privileged to be involved in this time of sharing. It was special to hear whānau’s precious kōrero paki and the emotions that went along with them.

In writing about conducting Māori rangahau, Tuhiwai Smith (1999 136) suggests that it is useful to build a relationship and involve Māori kaumātua in the rangahau process. Tuhiwai Smith (1999 136) highlights the need for trust in this relationship:

consent is not so much given for a project or specific set of questions, but for a person, for their credibility. Consent indicates trust and the assumption is that the trust will not only be reciprocated but constantly negotiated – a dynamic relationship rather than a static decision. Similarly, indigenous elders can do wonderful things with an interview. They tell stories, tease, question, think, observe, tell riddles, test and give trick answers. Conversely, they can also expect that an indigenous researcher will do the same back to them (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 136).

In the following section (see Ethical Considerations, below) I discuss the complex process of gaining trust and consent from participants in this project.

Respect is an important element of all social interactions in Kaupapa Māori rangahau (Tuhiwai Smith 1999 120). This respect does not manifest in a set code of conduct but by practices such as manaakitanga (Durie 1998). Tuhiwai Smith (1999 120) lists the following concepts as methods for being respectful:

1. Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people).
2. Kanohi kitea (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).
3. Titiro, whakarongo ... korero (look, listen ... speak).
4. Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous).
5. Kia tupato (be cautious).
6. Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people).
7. Kaua e mahaki (don't flaunt your knowledge).

Thus, operating from a qualitative approach, Tuhiwai Smith (1999 136) suggests that respect for those involved is central to the quality of Kaupapa Māori rangahau.

Ethical Considerations

I seek to conduct rangahau in a highly ethically astute manner with the utmost respect for all human participants. All rangahau involving human participants conducted at te Whare Wānanga o Waikato must gain ethics approval from the relevant committee. In

order to gain approval from te Kura Kete Aronui Human Research Ethics Committee, I developed several documents to support the application. These included a rangahau proposal to outline the basic tenets of the thesis, an information sheet and a consent form. These were to be provided to participants prior to their involvement in the project (see Āpitihanga 1: Information Sheet, whārangi 99 and Āpitihanga 2: Consent Form, whārangi 100). I also needed to provide a draft of the kaupapa outline for semi-structured interviews and focus rōpū for the committee's consideration (see Āpitihanga 3: Kaupapa Outline for Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Rōpū, whārangi 101-103).

I need to stress here that these documents were in draft format only. As I engaged with participants I decided to personalise consent forms and kaupapa outlines by including their names and other details. Hei tauira, I addressed the consent form to one participant by writing “Kia ora Tina” and so on. In this way, I sought to destabilise the binary between me as the kairangahau and the participants as the researched. I wanted to create a relationship with the participants based on an equal status. Thus, I agree with Tuhiwai Smith's (1999 120) interpretation of Kaupapa Māori rangahau as an avenue to foster a partnership between all those involved in the rangahau process. Furthermore, during the writing process I was aware of the importance of presenting their narratives in a way about which all participants would feel comfortable.

Snowballing: Making Contact with Potential Participants

Upon receiving permission to proceed with the rangahau by te Kura Kete Aronui Human Research Ethics Committee in May, 2005 I made contact with potential participants. I used the snowballing method. Valentine (1997 113) defines snowballing as “using one contact to help you recruit another contact, who in turn can put you in touch with someone else”. Initially I sent an email to a prominent Māori political leader in the Waikato (see Āpitihanga 4: Email to Potential Participants, whārangi 104). I had hoped this acquaintance would be useful in putting me in touch with others who might be able to participate in the rangahau. Unfortunately I did not get a positive response. Consequently I sent a similar email to all of my contacts in

my address book. I received only one response from a friend. She replied via telephone and said that her neighbour, Tina, might be willing to participate.

Upon reflecting on this poor response from people via email, I reconsidered whether sending emails was the best way to contact potential participants when working within a Kaupapa Māori framework. Perhaps my lack of kānohi-kitea contact led to this poor response. Thus when making contact with Tina I drove for an hour and a half in order to meet her at her pāmu and deliver the information sheet. Although this meeting required several telephone conversations to schedule, the outcome was highly successful. After the long drive, I was pleased to be offered manaakitanga and an opportunity to discuss the kaupapa. Tina's responses were really helpful because they enabled me to rethink some of the kaupapa and pātai on the kaupapa outline. At the conclusion of this initial hui, we organised a time for the interview and she said that she would ask if her friends might be interesting in being involved with the project too. Despite the amount of energy required to make contact with Tina, she proved vital in putting me in contact with her friend Maureen. I was able to arrange an interview with Maureen. On reflection, this was highly significant because Maureen was the only rare breeder¹⁷ that I interviewed.

An initial face-to-face hui was an important aspect of successfully gaining participants in this rangahau. Hei tauira, when three friends asked me about the rangahau they either volunteered themselves or their whānau to become involved in the project. This positive response made me remember other acquaintances who might be available. I learnt that by explaining the kaupapa in person to people they felt at ease. As a consequence they were much happier to question me to fully understand the kaupapa in person rather than by email or telephone.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

At the beginning of each interview and focus rōpū, we signed consent forms and I discussed pseudonyms with all participants. Due to printing difficulties, I was unable

¹⁷ For the purposes of this thesis, a rare breeder refers to people who breed special varieties of chooks that are often in danger of becoming extinct (such as Seabright, Plymouth Barred Rock and Chinese Silky).

to provide Maureen with a consent form and so she verbally consented to be interviewed. This verbal consent was recorded on tape. Three participants wished to keep their identities confidential and their ingoa have not been made known to anyone other than me. The anonymity of these three participants has been protected in the thesis by using the following pseudonyms that they selected: Becky, Huia and Oliver. The remaining eleven participants wanted me to use their real ingoa in this thesis.

Rangahau Participants

There were a total of fourteen participants involved in this rangahau. Āpitihanga 5 and 6 (see whārangi 105-106) provides their statistical information that is relevant to this rangahau. The Māori rangahau participants included: Tina, Maureen, Marni, Huia, Aneta, Becky, Josh, Daniel and Joe. Six identified as female and three as male. The ages range from 18 to 60 years old. Several different occupations were represented including: one university graduate tauira; two university undergraduate tauira; one mechanic; one housewife; one librarian; one semi-retired and one person in transition between jobs. The majority of the Māori participants were from dairy farming backgrounds.

The Pākehā rangahau participants included: Oliver, Dennis, Brian, Gloria and Deane. Four identified as male and one as female. All these participants had backgrounds in small farming backgrounds. The age range was from 25-65 years old. A range of occupations was represented: senior lecturer, cleaner and housewife, hospital storeman, engineer and doctoral tauira. In addition to caring for chooks, these small holders had cats, dogs, birds, sheep, goats and cows on their properties.

Being Flexible

I turn now to the role of flexibility in the rangahau. Longhurst (2003 6) points out that semi-structured interviews and focus rōpū or group interviews have traditionally been undervalued as social science rangahau methodologies. She emphasises that these forms of interviewing are valid rangahau tools and that they “are more than just chats”. In the following paragraphs, I discuss the ways in which semi-structured interviews and focus rōpū are conducive to the Kaupapa Māori approach.

As discussed earlier in this ūpoko, respect is an important aspect of Māori rangahau. In order to gain the respect of the participants, I needed to remain flexible. Flexibility was woven into the rangahau design to allow participants to influence the way that the rangahau was conducted. By discussing the details of the time and length, venue and reo choice (te reo Māori, te reo Pākehā and/or a blend of the two reo) for each interview and focus rōpū, all participants helped shape the rangahau design process. In this way, I remained flexible to changes that occurred during the rangahau due to pāmu and/or whānau related activities.

Although I played the role of interviewer, directing the kaupapa of the kōrero, I encouraged participants to also contribute to the direction of the dialogue. Furthermore, earlier in this ūpoko, I discussed a Māori rangahau project whereby the kairangahau and the researched benefited from the rangahau process. I found similar feelings as I interacted with participants. The following excerpt from my rangahau journal outlines some reflections about this at Tina's pāmu:

when I arrived at Tina's house, her friend Maureen was visiting too. As I set up the dictaphone we all chatted over a hot drink. I think these wāhine found comfort in supporting each other through chatting away about their chooks and other kararehe, money troubles, families, homes, studies, unpaid mahi on pāmu, marriages and so on. It felt like I was sitting in on a semi-formal hard-working mother and dairy farmer's wife friendship circle. It was in this context that they enjoyed talking about their situations.

I learnt from experiences such as this to be available to listen to a broad range of kaupapa. If I had behaved in a controlling manner whereby I limited the discussion to merely chooks, I think I would have limited the scope of this project. Thus by allowing participants the freedom to negotiate the direction and structure of the interview I learned that this methodology is a flexible and mutually beneficial experience (Bryman 2001 314).

In her concluding remarks, Gregg (2004 117) highlights the need for geographers to:

continue to develop, (re)create, explore and embrace new ways of conducting research, particularly with young people, and that focus groups or interview methods in themselves do not become stagnant.

I agree with Gregg's recommendation that geographers remain flexible and creative when designing focus rōpū. Given my manuhiri status, I had to be particularly sensitive and respectful of the tikanga of the participants because they were different to my own. I attempted to engage with the tikanga and kawa of all the participants. Hei tauira, by responding to their wishes to say a karakia prior to eating and by discussing certain tūpuna after the interview, I respected their whakapapa.

Feeling Comfortable and Having Fun

One of my key roles was to create a relaxed atmosphere whereby the participants felt comfortable talking (Longhurst 2003 6). The wāhi where people are interviewed can make a difference to the dialogue. As a result, I endeavoured to conduct interviews at their pāmu or kāinga or other venues such as beside the lake at te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. I wanted to provide safe interviewing spaces that were neutral, informal and quiet for both the participants and me. I also needed to negotiate times that were mutually suitable. I was often offered a hot drink upon my arrival and this led to small chit-chat prior to the commencement of the interviews. In order to shift the attention from me to the participants, I offered an assortment of kai to act as a stimulus at the start of the focus rōpū with Joe, Daniel and Josh. This was very important and acted as an ice-breaker.

Gregg (2004 55) explores the importance of having fun when conducting focus rōpū with young people. Some of the participants held conflicting views about the definition of rangahau and in fact the definition of mātauranga. This raised some conflict between participants in one focus rōpū. Joe, the oldest member of the rōpū felt that some kōrero paki should not be shared because they were "stupid". This contrasted with the younger members of the rōpū who were more than happy to laugh, joke and tell kōrero paki about raising chooks. This conflict rests upon notions of what mātauranga is appropriate to be considered for the purposes of academic rangahau. I find this issue particularly interesting. Longhurst (1996) explores some reasons for this tension. Traditionally rangahau has been represented as a "purely 'serious' business and "it's binary opposite – fun – is subsequently devalued, feminised and forgotten" (Longhurst 1996 145). Therefore the issue of whether to have fun during one of the focus rōpū was problematic. I think that it is an ongoing

issue that kairangahau ought to engage with whilst conducting semi-structured interviews and focus rōpū.

Being Approachable

Kearns (2000) writes about how participant observation techniques can be applied to interview and focus rōpū situations. In particular, what the kairangahau smells, sounds, speaks and looks like are important factors that can influence the participants. Given that I am an ‘insider’ in the researched rōpū, I am aware of the appropriate ‘uniform’ and dress standard required. I attempted to ‘dress-down’ by wearing track pants and sweatshirts when visiting pāmu and blue jeans and plain tops in the city (Bryman 2001 114). Upon reflection on the significance of my kākahu, I think it did help ‘break the ice’ and make me appear more approachable. This was important because it enabled the participants to feel comfortable and relaxed.

In the same way, it was important to use accessible reo. I could usually judge by listening to participants’ vocabulary what their reo ability was. Hei taura, several Māori participants could not properly pronounce Māori place names. In these instances, I very sparingly used Māori terms and where I did I translated them. Likewise, for those with limited English language abilities I attempted to use non-jargon and accessible reo when explaining the consent form. For one participant I had to translate the entire consent form into te reo Māori. I wrote about this experience in the following journal entry:

Aneta read the consent form over thoroughly and I explained it to her. All conversation was in te reo Māori. It seemed though that Aneta was more interested in her ability to judge me as a woman who could be known to be trustworthy rather than what was written on the consent form. After discussing the consent process for a while, Aneta happily agreed to the interview and signed the form.

Although I am fluent in te reo Māori, I found this task challenging. By pausing to allow Aneta and other participants to ask questions to clarify at different stages of the interviews, communications were enhanced. Above all else, I think my ability to remain approachable and open to questioning about issues such as the consent process allowed the participants to feel comfortable.

Recording Techniques

Recording kōrero at semi-structured interviews and focus rōpū meant that I did not have to be too concerned about remembering and recording all the relevant material (Longhurst 2003). Upon consent of participation, I used a tape recorder and took notes as recording methods to enable me to remember the kōrero and analyse it appropriately. I also took notes in case the dictaphone did not work or the kōrero was not clear. Participants sometimes used my paper to draw images of their chook whare and other important features on their properties. I also made written notes on events such as interruptions.

Bryman (2001 339) argues that audio recording and transcribing kōrero is the best way to accurately capture qualitative kōrero from interviews. Thus I borrowed a high quality dictaphone with a sound grabber from the University for this purpose. I practiced using it and checked that the batteries were charged before I conducted the interviews. I needed to allow five or six hāora for transcription for every hour of kōrero. As I transcribed verbatim, tiredness negatively impacted upon the accuracy of my mahi. I learned early on that it was crucial to be alert when doing this mahi (Bryman 2001 323). Written notes proved useful to clarify the spelling of place names such as Whawharua and Ahipara (places I am not familiar with).

I perceive that the main limitation of this recording technique is that in focussing on the dialogue, I did not record other important reactions such as body language (Silverman 1993 116). Although this study might be enhanced by recording this additional supporting information, I think that by audiotape recording and transcribing the semi-structured interviews and focus rōpū that I gained a comprehensive understanding of the participants' whakaaro.

Kaupapa Outline

Semi-structured interviews and focus rōpū are relatively unstructured; however, Longhurst (2003) highlights the need for an informal interview schedule. The

interviews and focus rūpū addressed six main kaupapa.¹⁸ Despite this, I did not always ask these pātai in the order that they appear in the Kaupapa Outline (see Āpitianga 3, whārangi 101-103). Hei tauira, I learned that it was best to wait to ask more challenging or thought provoking pātai until the second half or towards the end of the interaction. This is because the participants felt more comfortable talking about more difficult kaupapa when they felt more relaxed (Bryman 2001 117). Hence, I waited to ask about whether they feed their chooks with organic kai until after they had introduced the type of chook keeping that they employed because I thought that this might be a sensitive issue for some participants.

As I chatted with participants about their perceptions of their chooks I became interested in the ways that they talked about chooks as a Pākehā and Māori kararehe. The following kinds of pātai (adapted from my kaupapa outline) were used to investigate this matter:

1. How do you view chooks/chickens/hens in contemporary times?
2. Do you perceive them as part of your whānau? Tell me about any feelings you may have for them.
3. Tell me about any chicken keeping practises that you employ that you think are uniquely Māori (such as karakia).

At times drawing from their own and family members' experiences of keeping chooks, participants explored these kaupapa. I found that it was helpful to be able to use a kaupapa outline but remain flexible to discuss other issues that the participants raised. Hei tauira, Huia talked about the similarities between Māori environmental views and the permaculture movement. Although unexpected, this information allowed me to gain a greater insight into the hybrid identities of the participants.

I always concluded the interviews and focus rūpū by thanking the participants for their invaluable time and for helping with the project (Bryman 2001 120).

¹⁸ These included: (1) chook keeping background; (2) feelings about the whenua; (3) type of chook keeping; (4) perceptions of chooks; (5) cultural practices; and (6) statistical data.

Analysis

I listened to the tape recordings of the interviews and focus rōpū and then transcribed verbatim. Once I had full transcripts of all the interviews and focus rōpū, I printed these for the purposes of analysis. I used two methods of analysis. First, I used what Tolich and Davidson (1999 141) define as “focussed coding”, which helped me to consider reoccurring kaupapa. I used highlighter pens to code sections of the transcripts by using pre-determined codes and created new codes (“open-coding”) as I read and considered the texts. This is a qualitative rangahau method because it is open to different ways of interpreting kōrero.

At times I returned to the tape recordings to listen to the emphasis participants’ placed on certain kupu, phrases and concepts. Hei tauira, I learned early on in the analysis process that the inclusion of tikanga Māori into chook keeping practices was an important kaupapa to participants such as Aneta and Huia. I decided to group these ideas by typing them up under the heading of ‘Tikanga Māori and Chook Keeping’. By writing all these quotations together I could see the similarities and differences between the participants’ Māori beliefs regarding chook keeping. Perhaps the most significant impact of this method was that it highlighted the fact that all participants, to a greater or lesser extent, held Māori beliefs that impacted their chook keeping practices.

During the writing process of the rangahau, I revisited transcripts to enable me to quote participants directly. This allowed me to become very familiar with the participants’ reo and the issues that were important to them. However, I realised that the weakness of thematic coding is that by highlighting the similarities between participants, I might underplay the diversity in their situations. Hence, I decided to include one ūpoko that utilises a case study approach. I followed the format offered by Cameron’s (1997) and Hill and Pihama’s (1999) publications. Cameron’s (1997) book explores the narratives of adults that choose not to have children. She introduces one couple at a time and draws from direct quotations to tell their stories about being childless (Cameron 1997 41). In the same way, Ūpoko Tuawhā: Case Studies of Māori Chook Keepers (see whārangi 42-59) focuses on three participants, Daniel, Aneta and Becky. I have chosen these three individuals to discuss in-depth so as to

provide readers with insights into the similarities and differences between the participants' experiences of keeping chooks in the Waikato.

Self-Reflexivity

As a feminist kairangahau and 'insider' in this project, I have attempted to remain emotionally engaged throughout the rangahau process. In attempting to deconstruct power structures and analyse the kitenga, I became increasingly aware of the importance of reflexivity in feminist rangahau. I was informed by the writings of Kim England (1994) about the role of feminist rangahau and this helped me to overcome fears of inaccurately analysing and categorising the participants' narratives. Colonial structures (such as educational institutions) have previously disempowered people such as Māori. However, I hope that this academic rangahau offers one way of empowering the participants and giving them the opportunity to have their experiences heard and validated as legitimate mātauranga.

In attempting to deconstruct colonial structures and analyse the kitenga for this rangahau, I became increasingly aware of the way that my involvement in this project (as a kairangahau and 'insider') has shaped its direction (England 1994 84). When considering impacts of colonialism that may have shaped the participants' experiences of keeping chooks, I sensed that by analysing their narratives that I was engaging with another power struggle, that of the kairangahau as 'all knowing'. Hei tauira, I was responsible for choosing which kaupapa to discuss and which quotations to be use for this thesis (England 1994 86).

These are complex issues. England (1994 86) suggests that they can be resolved by continuing a relationship between the kairangahau and the researched for the purposes of feedback. Given the ongoing nature of my relationships with some of the participants, this has been possible to a certain extent. In some cases I was able to share "the prepublication text with the researched for feedback" (England 1994 86). I think this enhanced rangahau by providing an opportunity for participants to engage with the writing process.

Discourse Analysis

For the purposes of this rangahau, I used television programmes, internet websites, children's literature, newspaper articles and magazine articles as puna to consider representations of Māori chook keeping practices in the media. Gillian Rose (2001 136) calls this form of analysis "intertextuality". By collecting a variety of information from various puna, I was able to gain a greater understanding of the way in which different pukapuka join to reproduce mātauranga about Māori chook keeping. I identified reoccurring kaupapa by referring back to pukapuka to substantiate kitenga (Rose 2001 161). I also consider the "invisibilities" or absences and attempt to account for these (Rose 2001 144, 158).

Gillian Rose (2001) offers advice to kairangahau engaging in discourse analysis. She argues that this form of analysis centres on Foucault's theories about the ways discourse shapes societies. Rose (2001 136) explains discourse as:

groups of statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way we act on the basis of that thinking. In other words, discourse is a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it.

Although unpacking discourse is time consuming and complex, discourse analysis can help kairangahau to gain insights into how "specific views or accounts are constructed as real or truthful or natural through particular regimes of truth" (Rose 2001 140).

I collected and analysed five different forms of texts for the purposes of this study. This section explores the reasons that I choose these texts. I also discuss the methods that I used to collect this data.

First, I viewed four Country Calendar (1970; 1977a; 1977b and 1980) episodes about chicken farming in Aotearoa. By emailing the relevant people at Television New Zealand (see Āpitihanga 7: Email to Television New Zealand, whārangi 107) I was informed about these programmes. However, in order to view these episodes, I was required to travel to the Television New Zealand Archives in Pōneke. I was provided

with a room to view these episodes and took written notes. Here is a sample of the type of pātai I used to analyse the episodes:

1. What kinds of discourses are constructed about chooks in this episode?
2. Which languages are used (te reo Māori and/or te reo Pākehā)?
3. How are the relationships between humans and chooks represented?

Although dated, these episodes provided interesting insights into colonial and gender discourses in the chicken farming industry in Aotearoa.

Second, I used Google (www.google.co.nz) and Dogpile (www.dogpile.com) search engines to find internet websites about discourses of Māori chook keeping. Unfortunately, I was unable to find any particularly helpful or relevant material. However, I did find one website (University of Canterbury 2005) whereby whakaahua were presented of undergraduate Māori tauira eating chicken for dinner at a wānanga near Christchurch. In my analysis of this whakaahua, I considered the following pātai:

1. Where is the location of the whakaahua? Is this significant in any way?
2. What reo is used to describe the whakaahua?
3. What are the tauira eating the chicken meat with?

In summary, internet websites did not contribute as much to this rangahau as initially planned. This could reflect the fact that fewer Māori have access to internet websites in comparison to non-Māori, particularly significant in rural areas. This is due to the poor infrastructure and the expense (Executive Government 2006).

Third, I analysed the following children's pukapuka: *Nanny Mihi's Garden* by Melanie Drewery (2002); *Pīpī Perekunga* by Robyn Gaw (1994); *Ko te Whānau Heihei* by Roka Paora (1987); *Te Whakawhiti i te Rori* by Mākere Rogers (1986); *Ngā Manu o te Pāmu* by Manu Te Awa (2003). I selected these pukapuka due to their inclusion of te reo Māori and Māori characters. However, I found *Nanny Mihi's Garden* by Melanie Drewery (2002) the most helpful because it included te reo Māori and Māori characters extensively throughout its illustrations and texts. I designed these pātai to analyse this pukapuka:

1. Are the chooks present in the text and/or illustrations? Where are the chooks positioned in contrast to the people?
2. Are other kararehe shown/talked about? What is their connection with chooks? Where are these other kararehe depicted in relation to the chooks?

In addition to providing detailed descriptions of this form of chook keeping by Māori, I have included two of these illustrations from *Nanny Mihi's Garden* by Melanie Drewery (2002) in the substantive ūpoko of this thesis (see Whakaahua 7, whārangi 79 and Whakaahua 8, whārangi 88).

Fourth, I collected farming and kararehe magazines from Aotearoa (such as Australasian Poultry, Animals' Voice, NZ Lifestyle Block, Lifestyle Farmer and Growing Today) to consider representations of Māori chook keepers in the media. I was not able to find any relevant material. Pākehā were the only ethnic rōpū depicted as chook keepers in Aotearoa. Perhaps this reflects the chooks' colonial heritage.

Fifth, I used 'Newztext Plus', a news database to search for newspaper articles about Māori chook keepers in Aotearoa. I accessed this database through the library catalogue for te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, available on-line. I used a variety of phrases to search. These included: "Māori and chook(s)"; "Māori and chicken(s)"; "Māori and chicken farming (in the Waikato)"; and "chicken farming in the Waikato". I was able to print out a total of 20 articles that included these terms in their text. I then used a highlighter to draw attention to the ways that chooks were referred to. I used a "focussed coding" technique to group reoccurring kaupapa that emerged (Tolich and Davidson 1999 141).

Therefore by collating this corpus of material, I was able to gain a greater appreciation for the ways that Māori chook keeping practices are represented in media sources.

Whakarāpopototanga

In summary, for the purposes of this rangahau, I have conducted semi-structured interview, focus rōpū and discourse analysis. This analysis explores the implications of employing these methodologies with reference to the Kaupapa Māori theoretical

framework. Specifically, I discuss: ethical issues, contacting participants, the importance of being flexible and approachable, feeling comfortable and having fun, recording techniques, kaupapa outline and pātai, analysis, self-reflexivity and discourse analysis techniques. I have included the kitenga of this rangahau in the three substantive ūpoko that follow.

Ūpoko Tuawhā: Case Studies of Māori Chook Keepers

I write this ūpoko with the intention of providing readers with an understanding of the diverse and contradictory narratives about keeping chooks offered by Daniel, Aneta and Becky. The following two ūpoko unpack some of the issues that this analysis highlights: poverty, chooks being kept for eating purposes and representations of chooks as playful or silly.

In this ūpoko, Daniel, Aneta and Becky recollect their different approaches to keeping chooks in rural areas.¹⁹ Whakaahua 3 (see whārangi 45) displays the main systems for managing hēki producing chooks. Although this whakaahua displays the hēki production rates for American commercial chicken farming, I have included it because it provides a good visual description of different chook keeping methods. Daniel's whānau had a free range approach. Aneta's hapū kept chooks low-intensively. Becky kept chooks in a 'strawyard'.²⁰

First, I introduce Daniel who kept chooks with his whānau. During this time his whānau lived on dairy and pig pāmu near Matamata. Their chooks were raised in the whānau context to provide low-cost and nutritious hēki for everyone. Second, I discuss Aneta's chook keeping experiences. She was brought up in a community that kept chooks in a communal manner. By providing examples of keeping chooks, I interweave issues surrounding her bilingual home environment, her journey to become fluent in te reo Māori and her passion for the retention of te reo Māori. Becky is the last participant that I consider as a case study. I read her relationships with her chooks within interconnecting discourses of gender, human-animal relations and being Māori. By providing this level of detail, I destabilise the notion of an essentialised Māori chook keeper as female, poor and knowledgable in te reo me ngā tikanga Māori.

As a project employing Kaupapa Māori methodology, the choice to include detailed information about these three participants in this ūpoko is deliberate. Hill and

¹⁹ None of these three participants currently keep chooks. However, I have included their narratives in the thesis because their recollections provide interesting accounts of Māori chook keeping practices.

²⁰ This is often referred to as 'barn' style chook keeping in Aotearoa.

Pihama's (1999) rangahau project employs a Māori approach to presenting the narratives of six Māori wāhine as case studies. This provides a template for the way that I have presented this ūpoko.

By considering Daniel, Aneta and Becky's living arrangements, gender, sexuality, educational backgrounds, political views, cultural identities and relationships with chooks, complex and everyday aspects of their lives and identities are explored. The focus on oral histories and narratives creates space for autobiographical kōrero to be told. Multifaceted identity issues are considered such as class, sexuality and ethnicity. The spiritual and political aspects of life are acknowledged as an intrinsic component of identity. These interviews and focus rōpū were conducted in participants' home environments as this makes the participants feel more comfortable. Kaupapa Māori rangahau values the use of te reo Māori (Pihama no date provided). The implementation of this communication policy differed according to the abilities of participants. Hei tauira, at the focus rōpū with Daniel, I reserved the use of te reo Māori for universally known greetings in Aotearoa such as "kia ora". However, during the interview with Aneta, all communications were in the medium of te reo Māori.

1) Daniel: Broad Context

Daniel is an 18-year-old tane. He is a Kirikiriroa resident. Although now a city dweller, Daniel is of Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne and Ngāti Kuia descent. He also identifies as Pākehā. He grew up near Matamata on several pig and dairy pāmu where his matua was employed as a labourer. It was during this time that the whānau kept chooks. At secondary school, Daniel was known as a 'trouble maker' and did not achieve high levels of academic success. He was encouraged to leave school in favour of a more 'hands-on' occupation. After leaving his family kāinga in Matamata, he moved to Kirikiriroa. He is now employed as an apprentice mechanic. He greatly enjoys this practical mahi and has high aspirations for his future. Perhaps one of the highlights of his acquired skills is that he is able to repair his brother's waka as necessary. He enjoys the positive attention that he receives from helping his brother in this way.

Type of Chook Keeping

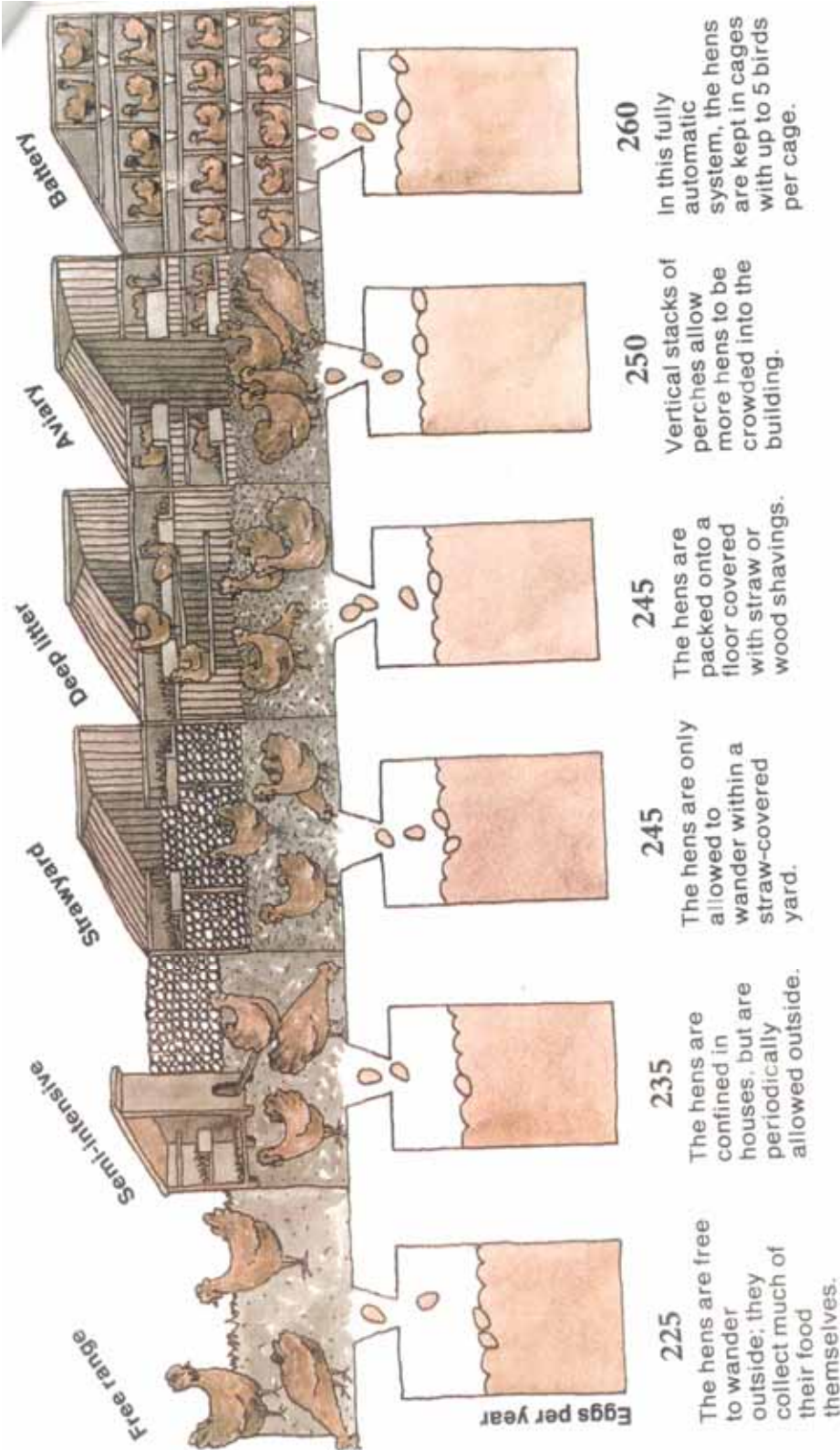
From 1985-1997, Daniel and his whānau kept 20 to 40 chooks. In addition, they usually had one rooster at any one time. This number was selected so that the family of nine could remain self-sufficient. Consequently, it was low-intensive and non-commercial. Like the majority of participants involved in the rangahau, Daniel and his whānau kept a range of breeds, including a special breed called Chinese Silky. The whānau occasionally culled some of the chooks for eating purposes but they were mostly for hēki production. Daniel and his whānau let their chooks free range. At the peak of their production, their chooks would produce 20 hēki a day (see Whakaahua 3, whārangi 45). These hēki were used by Daniel's whaea for cooking and baking.

General Whakaaro about Life

Daniel is very whānau orientated. The whakataukī, “Ko te whānau te pūtake o te iwi, o te ao” (whānau is the basis of society and the world) seems an appropriate description of his approach to his whānau (Raela 1997). All of his immediate family reside in the Waikato rohe. Daniel lives and socialises regularly with his two brothers and girlfriend. A tragedy of his family is the death of Daniel's matua. Daniel spoke affectionately about his matua in the focus rōpū. His whaea is now a widow. She lives in Matamata raising Daniel's two teina. Daniel visits them regularly, often taking his girlfriend along as well. His two foster sisters and their families also reside in Matamata. They provide emotional and practical tautoko for Daniel's whaea. They travel regularly together to their whānau marae (near Masterton) and have close connections with whānau members there. It is a close whānau and this is important to Daniel. Chooks were raised in this whānau context.

Daniel is a very social young tane, suggesting that I should “do this survey at a party, eh man! It'd be awesome”. He enthusiastically retells his family's experiences of keeping chooks. Hei tauira, he was excited to tell me about his father's pet chook, named “Silky”. Silky was named by Daniel's matua after her breed, Chinese Silky. Daniel and his brothers told me the kōrero of how Silky was viciously killed by the family's kurī.

Whakaahua 3: The Productivity of Different Chook Keeping Production Systems in the Commercial Sector



Pūtake: Seymour and Girardet (1987 54).

Although a tragic kōrero paki, Daniel enjoyed remembering the family's past by re-telling stories such as this. There was much katakata shared. Daniel is the family's comedian, telling tales from his childhood including detailed information on how to hunt kararehe, including chooks and the appropriate equipment to use.

He also talked about the whānau's roosters and their ability to "take advantage of the little babies". This was a catalyst for katakata. Later in the focus rōpū, Daniel said enthusiastically to his brother, "you should tell the horse joke on this". Although this joke was not divulged to me, I could understand that it gave the rōpū great pleasure merely to recall the story. Daniel's comedy was clearly appreciated by everyone.

Daniel also shared his whakaaro about other kararehe, such as bobby calves. As a keen hunter, at times shooting chooks with his 'BB' gun "for fun". Daniel displays compassion for bobby calves though in the following comment: "used to feel stink about bonging them on the head". Here Daniel displays some sensitivity towards the killing of domesticated farm kararehe. He is enthusiastic about killing wild and domesticated kararehe for entertainment purposes. However, the deliberate killing of kararehe such as bobby calves as an economic decision does not seem appealing to Daniel.

In general, I think that the focus rōpū was a positive experience for Daniel. He enjoyed recollecting about his whānau's chooks. Perhaps the greatest advantage of conducting the focus rōpū with Daniel and his brothers in their kāinga was that he felt comfortable. Bryman (2001 348) argues:

focus group research is less artificial than many other methods, because, in emphasizing group interaction, which is a normal part of social life, it does not suffer from the problem of gleaning information in an unnatural situation. Moreover, the tendency of many focus group researchers to recruit participants from naturally occurring groups underpins the lower level of artificiality of the method, since people are able to discuss in situations that are quite normal for them.

Daniel often socialises with his brothers in their rūma noho. Although a private young tane, he seemed to feel safe sharing his whakaaro and feelings here. In this sense, by conducting the focus rōpū in this space, it was a normal situation for him.

As the facilitator of the rōpū, at times I felt like I was just an observer of the kōrero. Daniel and his brothers were actively involved in raising new kaupapa, asking pātai and verbally communicating. When I arrived to conduct the focus rōpū, Daniel was particularly quiet and I did not expect such an outcome. Although the information provided was helpful for the rangahau, I think that it was enjoyable for Daniel to express some of his whakaaro about keeping chooks. In addition to Daniel's enjoyment of the experience, I equally enjoyed the focus rōpū. This is demonstrated by my closing comment from the focus rōpū transcript: "that's really helpful and quite funny too so thank you, that's great". In short, this huarahi mahi was effective in creating a comfortable environment to generate qualitative information about chook keeping.

Educational Status and Cultural Identity

Given the high level of education that the other members of Daniel's household have attained, I was surprised to find that Daniel did not complete his secondary schooling. Daniel's older brother is a professional tangata and is also enrolled as a part-time tauira at a Māori tertiary institution. Daniel's younger brother and girlfriend are both enrolled at te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. In a way Daniel is immersed in a learning environment whilst at home. Despite this, Daniel had limited capacities, linguistically, both in te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā. This was demonstrated throughout the interview as he recalled memories about his whānau's chook keeping experiences.

Daniel has Māori whakapapa and is proud of this. There are whakaahua of his tūpuna displayed in the living areas of his whare. Despite this, Daniel appears culturally to be Pākehā. Thus, Daniel did not include many tikanga Māori into the ways that he related to his whānau chooks. Perhaps this is due to the disenfranchisement of his whānau from their ancestral whenua. Daniel's educational experiences and friendship base as a tamaiti had strong connections with the Pākehā world. Consequently, his Pākehā roots are stronger than his Māori roots. Notwithstanding, Daniel strongly identifies as Māori. Daniel's experience of Māoritanga is unique and intertwined with Pākehātanga.

Daniel did not have any problems with hunting and killing chooks as a hobby. However, he also discussed the benefits of burying these deceased chooks in the whānau's māra. If Daniel's cultural identity is read through a postcolonial lens, Daniel could be considered a 'cultural hybrid' (Jackson 1998 and McDowell and Sharp 1999 131). This means that his bicultural heritage has blended and he is neither Pākehā nor Māori. He is both. Bentley (1999 9-10) suggests that Pākehā Māori "never fit neatly into categories".

Pakeha Maori have always been an important but invisible facet of New Zealand life. Inhibiting the zone where Maori and Pakeha cultures merge, they continue to serve as intermediaries between the races. They have been neglected by anthropologists and historians interested in the study of acculturation and race relations. The existence of a third kind of New Zealander still has no place in the official vocabulary of biculturalism (Bentley 1999 10-11).

Daniel merges aspects of Pākehātanga and Māoritanga into his cultural identity. Daniel's cultural identity surprised me at first. Perhaps this is because he occupies an "invisible" racial status in Aotearoa (Bentley 1999 10).

Up until conducting the focus rōpū with Daniel and his siblings, I had met with mostly middle-aged wāhine who strongly identified as Māori. In comparison to Daniel, they had a more comprehensive understanding of their Māoritanga. I think that I expected a young tane such as Daniel to have a greater appreciation of his Māori heritage. In an era where many Māori have 'found' their Māori identities in what has been coined by academics the 'Māori Cultural Renaissance', Daniel does not seem to have been affected by this process in the same way as others (Besio 2004). Or perhaps Daniel merely expresses a different kind of Māoritanga, one that is connected to Pākehātanga as well (Bentley 1999 9-11).

Daniel taught me an important lesson. For a chook keeper to identify as Māori, they do not have to speak to their chooks only in the medium of te reo Māori, say karakia as they feed them and so on. Daniel's narrative of keeping chooks helped me to realise that ethnicity is indeed a fluid concept. Jackson (1998 99) argues that ethnicity is a complex kupu that has undergone constant redefinition. Traditionally, race has referred to biological aspects of people. It has been viewed as essential and innate.

Hei tauira, race has been determined based on physical characteristics such as makawe type and colour, colour of karu and kiri, stature and width of ihu. However, in purely scientific terms, 'race' is a fallacious category. According to Jackson (1998 99) race is a social construction. This means that the physical, spiritual and cultural aspects of a tangata are markers that can be used to indicate racial identity or identities. Furthermore, Jackson (1998) highlights how race is influenced by class, gender and other social categories. Different races have different social prestige and there are many factors, including governmental policies, that influence the way that race is constructed (Haylett 2001 354).

Racial discourses are fluid and evolve over time (Jackson 1998 104). The common thread that is woven throughout this thesis is that the participants represent different degrees of 'Māoriness'. The ways that these individuals relate to their chooks varies in relation to their different degrees of Māoriness. At the beginning of the field work, I expected that they would all speak te reo Māori to their chooks to some extent. However, Daniel had very limited abilities in te reo Māori. Perhaps I projected my own experiences of speaking te reo to my chooks onto the participants. However, the reality is that there are many different experiences of Māori chook keeping practices, as Daniel's narrative clearly illustrates.

2) Aneta: Broad Context

In this section I introduce another participant, Aneta. Aneta is a wahine, aged between 36-40 years old. As a whaea of four tamariki, she is responsible for childcare and other domestic mahi. Aneta is passionate about learning and mātauranga. Her tamariki attend Kura Kaupapa. In addition to her role as a whaea, Aneta is enrolled in full-time graduate study at te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. When I approached her to see if she or anyone else that she knew would be interested in participating in the rangahau, Aneta was enthusiastic. Aneta enjoyed keeping chooks during her childhood and enjoyed the opportunity to recall her memories. Aneta was keen to speak te reo Māori and consequently all of our dialogue was in te reo Māori. There were some occasions, however when discussing the various body parts of her chooks that she used te reo Pākehā as a means of communication.

Aneta currently lives in Kirikiriroa but has spent most of her life in Ōpōtiki. Aneta's whānau kept chooks during her childhood in Ōpōtiki. Although this means that Aneta is not technically a chook keeper from the Waikato, she now resides here and wanted to participate in the rangahau. My approach to rangahau is inclusive. It is for these reasons that Aneta's narrative appears in this thesis.

Both of Aneta's mātua are of Māori descent and she traces her Māori ancestry to Ngāi-te-rangi. Aneta strongly identifies as Māori. During the interview I asked her about her thoughts on a non-Māori approach to chook keeping, she had no ideas to contribute. One of the responses that she made was "kāore au he Pākehā". She then went on to say "kāore au e mōhio ētahi atu tāngata Pākehā". By saying that she is not Pākehā and does not know anyone who is Pākehā, Aneta communicates the importance of being Māori. It is from this perspective that she offers her stories of chook keeping.

I think that Aneta benefited from engaging in this rangahau project. Although I was interested in gathering information about her experiences keeping chooks, there was also space to discuss Aneta's home environment. She enthusiastically shared with me the dynamics of whānau, her feelings about Ōpōtiki, her living arrangements there and the role of chooks in the society. In particular, Aneta told me about how her community started keeping chooks.

Type of Chook Keeping

In 1979, low-intensive, non-commercial chook keeping was introduced in Ōpōtiki as a hapū development strategy. The hapū purchased 50 chooks in total and five whānau were responsible for the feeding of 10 chooks each. They were fed kitchen scraps and low cost kākano. The majority of the chooks in this development programme free ranged all day and roosted in rākau overnight. However, Aneta's matua constructed a chook whare and run for their chooks. Consequently, Aneta's chooks lived in the semi-intensive style that is often referred to as 'barn' farming in the commercial sector in Aotearoa (see Whakaahua 3, whārangi 45). Whakaahua 4 (see whārangi 51)

shows an image of a similar arrangement whereby chooks are kept in an enclosure in the mornings and allowed to free range in the afternoons. I have included this whakaahua to provide readers with a visual example of Aneta's chook keeping arrangements. Aneta's whānau ceased keeping chooks in 1985.

Whakaahua 4: My Chooks in their Aviary [and Xavier]



Source: kaituhi (2004).

General Whakaaro about Life

From Aneta's kōrero about her lifestyle, it is apparent that her whānau is very important to her. She explained whānau as the unifying agent in her community. While growing up, Aneta would frequent different kāinga in the rohe for visits and would often stay for meals. She describes her present community as different because "ka noho individual" and they no longer share projects such as raising chooks. In this kōrero, Aneta notices the individualisation of the way that her whānau members live these days compared to her childhood. Perhaps this is because they do not have a communal project, such as keeping chooks, as a shared activity anymore. Despite this,

one of the resounding messages that she communicates is that her wairua is at rest while in the company of her whānau.

Aneta's personal well-being is associated with her connection to her ancestral whenua. She currently lives in Kirikiriroa but refers to Ōpōtiki as a version of Hawaiki, a paradise. Hawaiki is the point from which waka left when Māori migrated to Aotearoa (Sinclair 1975 89). In Aneta's imaginings, Ōpōtiki is her true homeland, where she left to migrate to Kirikiriroa. It is a highly idealised wāhi, which has spiritual connotations. Aneta perceives Ōpōtiki as a wāhi of refuge and safety (Clarke 1997 88-89, 174). It is also spiritual kāinga that Valentine (2001 72-73) calls "paradise". This paradise is an "ideological construct created from people's emotionally charged experiences of where they happen to live, have lived or want to live again... some people who have a physical house do not consider it to be a 'home'" (Valentine 2001 73). Aneta's Kirikiriroa residence is merely a dwelling. However, Aneta represents Ōpōtiki as an idealised space that values whānau relationships, embodies Māoritanga and has spiritual connections for her. Although the community no longer keep chooks, she has memories of this activity here.

hooks (1990 42-43) suggests that home contributes to the development and nurturing of identity for non-Western wāhine (hooks 1990 42-43). Aneta's ancestral whenua is an important place to her because it is where she traces her whakapapa from and grew up (Ahmed 2000 330). Māoritanga is celebrated and embraced here. Hei tauira, her mātua would conduct karakia for their chooks on a daily basis. Furthermore, Aneta could freely express her unique cultural identity in this space (Valentine 2001 83).

Although she no longer permanently lives in Ōpōtiki, she enjoys returning for visits. Her involvement in this rangahau allowed her the space to kōrero about her experiences raising chooks as a child there. By returning to Ōpōtiki through remembering kōrero paki about the people and the environment there, Aneta demonstrates a desire that many people have to return home. Valentine (1992 73) writes that home is "somewhere we feel we belong, and to which we return". It is Aneta's desire to return to her ancestral whenua by sharing stories about her childhood keeping chooks there that shows the importance of whakapapa and roots to

her. This strong connection of Aneta to Ōpōtiki and to her whānau and hapū is the framework within which she related to chooks by raising them for this community.

Educational Status and Cultural Identity

Education and Māoritanga are very important components of Aneta's life. Perhaps the most significant learning journey that Aneta has undergone centres on becoming fluent in te reo Māori. She discussed linguistic issues with reference to chook keeping.

As a tamaiti Aneta was not very fluent in te reo Māori. This is because her exposure to te reo was limited. Although her mātua were highly competent speakers of te reo Māori, they preferred to speak mostly te reo Pākehā to Aneta and her siblings. This is consistent with the choice that many Māori made to prepare their tamariki for the education system administered by Pākehā governmental institutions wherein all instruction was conducted in te reo Pākehā (Simon 1998 74). At home, Aneta explained the use of language as “he tūmomo bilingual”, a hybridisation of te reo Māori and te reo Pākehā (McDowell and Sharp 1999 131). Aneta spoke te reo Pākehā, intertwined with kupu Māori at home. Hei tauira, at home chooks were called “heihei” but she explained that this changed to “chicken” upon Aneta's commencement of schooling in a strictly te reo Pākehā only language environment.

The underlying reason that mātua, such as Aneta's discouraged the use of te reo Māori and quickly embraced te reo Pākehā in their homes was the punishment that they themselves or their kaumātua had received upon using it at kura (Simon 1998 81-82). The following quotation describes a pamphlet that instructs that the use of te reo Māori be prohibited in Native or Māori kura. The quotation also discusses the issue of punishment for speaking te reo Māori that tamariki received.

The pamphlet does not, at any stage, suggest that teachers should punish children for speaking Māori yet there is abundant evidence that in some schools harsh punishments were meted out for speaking Māori. There are numerous accounts of Māori children being strapped or caned for using their own language (Simon 1998 81).

At kura, Aneta spoke strictly te reo Pākehā only. As her mātua embraced Aneta's new mātauranga of te reo Pākehā into their home, although still bilingual, kupu such as "heihei" became "chicken" in their everyday kōrero at home. Aneta provided the following example about being instructed to go and feed the chooks to demonstrate the intermingling of the two languages: "haere atu ki te feed the chickens".

It was not until study at tertiary level as a mature tauira that Aneta became fluent in te reo Māori. Aneta's choice to study te reo Māori could be read as an act of anticolonialism. By becoming fluent in te reo Māori, Aneta became empowered to communicate effectively with her kaumātua and her tamariki. By embracing te reo Māori, she experienced increased levels of self-esteem, tino rangatiratanga and mana that were challenged by her previous educational experiences. The whakataukī "e kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea" (never will I loose the seed that was scattered from Rangiātea) encompasses Aneta's approach to maintaining her knowledge of te reo Māori (Anonymous 2006; Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa 2006). "Traditionally speaking, Rangiātea was the name for the Marae-atea of Io, the Supreme Being" and it is from here that te reo Māori, referred to as the origin of seed or language in the whakataukī, originates (Anonymous 2006). Thus, te reo Māori is a chiefly and prestigious taonga to be treasured, respected and cared for by using it regularly. There were only a few instances in the interview, where Aneta spoke te reo Pākehā to describe her whānau's experiences of keeping chooks. Aneta's use of te reo Māori in the interview and elsewhere, demonstrates her desire to maintain her mātauranga lest this taonga be lost.

In everyday horopaki, Aneta resists using the reo of the coloniser, te reo Pākehā, in favour of te reo Māori where possible. Perhaps she has enrolled her tamariki in the Māori educational system so that their mātauranga of te reo Māori obtained from their home environment might be enhanced rather than lost, as was Aneta's experience? Hence, Aneta used the kupu "tiaki heihei, tame heihei me pīpī" rather than "chook keeping".

3) Becky: Broad Context

Becky is a female 56-60 year old semi-retired city planner residing in Kirikiriroa. Becky introduced herself in the following kupu:

I'm from a place called Whawharua, which is South East of Otorohanga. My Dad was a dairy farmer there and I was raised on a farm.

Becky lived on this property with her siblings and mātua until the age of 18, which is when she left to attend te Whare Wānanga o Waikato in Kirikiriroa. On this conventional whānau owned pāmu, Becky assisted with mahi, including looking after the chooks with her brother and sister. Becky enjoyed living in this rural wāhi.

In preparation for the interview, Becky had spent some time recalling kōrero that she could tell me about her experiences keeping chooks. These memories were clearly precious to Becky and I appreciated her sharing them with me.

Type of Chook Keeping

Becky's whānau kept chooks from her birth until she was 14 years old. They kept 12 chooks for the production of hēki to remain self-sufficient. When Becky became a rangatahi, they increased this number to two or three dozen to sell hēki to the local grocer toa. The chooks were feed "kitchen scraps like the peelings and all the corn husks" twice a day. In hōtoke, the chooks also received "warm mash". The chooks were also left to free range all day around the farmyard and then called into the barn to roost at night (see Whakaahua 3, whārangi 45).

This meant that Becky and her siblings had to hunt for hēki in the hay barn and other wāhi where the chooks would lay. Becky enjoyed keeping chooks and spoke fondly of spending wā with them. In particular, Becky enjoyed the company of her pet chook, Goldie. Goldie was a Bantam. Becky maintained a close relationship with Goldie in her pre-school years.

Chooks as a Playmate

Becky describes the role of her pet chook, Goldie as being “like a little playmate”. This was particularly significant when Becky was a pre-schooler because their pāmu was isolated and she did not often have the opportunity to play with anyone other than her siblings. Becky enjoyed telling me about her relationship with Goldie. She said, “I always like my Bantam. I always have a lovely memory of her”. Clearly, Becky continues to be fond of Goldie and values her memory.

Philo and Wilbert (2000 4) suggest “human-animal relations have been filled with power, commonly the wielding of an oppressive, dominating power by humans over animals”. Becky had a special relationship with Goldie. This relationship both opposes and reinforces this long standing binary that aggressively separates culture or people from nature or kararehe (Campbell 1999 241). Hei tauira, Goldie was not allowed in Becky’s whānau kāinga but Becky was allowed to follow “her around and watch where she laid her eggs”. Goldie was excluded from Becky’s kāinga; however, Becky was not excluded from Goldie’s kāinga. Why was this? Philo (1998 56) argues that complex power relations and hierarchies exist between humans and kararehe. Humans maintain the dominant position in this relationship. Becky excluding Goldie from her private space provides an example of the ways that humans relate to kararehe. “Indeed, humans past and present have radically changed the life conditions of all manner of animals, whether pets, livestock or wild” (Philo and Wilbert 2000 3). This was the case with Goldie too – according to a particular agenda of Becky’s.

Goldie had little autonomy regarding the basic aspects of her life such as when she was able to eat dinner. Despite this, the type of reo that Becky uses when referring to them, hei tauira “I’d probably treat it [Goldie] like a person. You know, just gabbled away in four year old talk”, demonstrates that Becky perceived Goldie as a playmate rather than as a subaltern.

Kaitiakitanga

Becky discussed the issues of kaitiakitanga within the horopaki of looking after kararehe, including chooks. She talked about her Māori grandmother's role in educating her about nurturing.

I know my grandmother, she used to live out at Pirongia and she used to do a lot of nursing around the district, you know helping people when they were dying or when they were giving birth and all that sort of thing or sick. We [my whānau] had that stream of looking after, restoring.

Becky perceived her maternal grandmother as embodying the concept of kaitiakitanga. These ideas of kaitiakitanga were embraced by Becky's whānau within the horopaki of caring for chooks.

In considering the implications of her whānau's approach to kaitiakitanga, Becky discussed her whakaaro about caring for kararehe. She explained the kaitiakitanga of kararehe in these kupu:

just like people, you look after people, you look after animals. Very fundamental part of farming really, I guess: looking after animals.

Becky felt that the well-being of their kararehe was an intrinsic component of farming. In the horopaki of keeping chooks, Becky's whānau took proactive measures to provide adequate shelter and warmth, kai, water, company and health care practices as necessary. If one of their chooks became seriously ill, the whānau would be concerned, provide additional nutritional tautoko and Becky's matua would euthanize as necessary to prevent further suffering.

In the same way that Daniel did not like the slaughtering of bobby calves (see whārangi 46), Becky said that her whaea felt uncomfortable killing kararehe unnecessarily. She told the following kōrero about her whānau's experience with bobby calves:

it raises the thing about my mother and bobby calves. The first year that they were on the farm, Mum wouldn't let my father send the bobby calves away, you know, the little ones that, the surplus ones, he'd only keep the really good ones and she wouldn't let him send them away so we ended up with lots of bobby calves around, or little bull calves and things. I don't know what he did with them, cause I was probably too young to know. I know that's a story in the family so he kept his but the next year they had to go and Mum didn't think they should.

It seems that the slaughtering of healthy kararehe such as bobby calves contradicts the whānau's principles of kaitiakitanga. Clearly Becky's whaea perceives this mahi as unnecessary. Becky's narrative reminds us that dairy pāmu are business enterprises and that all activity, including keeping chooks, are expected to be economically sustainable. This issue highlights the difficulties in merging values such as kaitiakitanga and business principles.

Cultural Identity

Like Daniel, Becky identifies as a Pākehā Māori. Although Becky's maternal grandmother was of Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Hou descent, the whānau does not have any associations with them. Despite this, she formed connections with the local iwi in her rohe, Ngāti Maniapoto. Becky discusses her affiliations in the following kōrero:

[I am from] Ngā Puhi. I think Ngāti Hou as well but I don't really have any associations with them. The other one is Ngāti Maniapoto. I guess because I had friends at school from there.

Kiri colour is the main maker of 'race' (Johnston *et al* 1994 496). Becky's kiri is white and she looks like a Pākehā without any Māori ancestry. Despite this, Becky strongly identifies as Māori as well as Pākehā. Although kiri colour is often used to denote race, whakapapa is also significant. Becky draws her Māori ancestry from her maternal grandmother who married a Pākehā tane. This trend continued in Becky's whānau and is common in the Aotearoa horopaki (Bentley 1999 11). As a bicultural New Zealander, Becky felt that her views about chook keeping "were partly Māori".

I think that the whakataukī, "nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora te manuhiri" (by the combination of your basket of knowledge and my basket of knowledge, everyone will

thrive) (Broughman; Reed and Kāretu 1987 16; Rotorua District Council 2006) summarises Becky's general approach to life. She is an open, friendly and helpful wahine who is interested in the sharing of mātauranga and rauemi. Hei tauira, she made herself available to participate in this rangahau and asked that I email her if I needed any further help. She prepared by choosing some stories about her pet Bantam, Goldie to tell me. I really enjoyed interviewing Becky because of her positive attitude towards rangahau and learning.

Daniel, Aneta and Becky: Whakarāpopototanga

I consider three participants: Daniel, Aneta and Becky. I discuss these three experiences of keeping chooks as case studies. First, I introduce Daniel, a rangatahi residing in Kirikiriroa. Daniel raises issues associated with his feelings towards chooks and his unique cultural identity in relation to keeping chooks. Second, I discuss Aneta's experiences of keeping chooks. Aneta's narrative of chook keeping is interesting because it uncovers intersecting discourses of poverty, mātauranga and Māoritanga. Third, Becky, a dairy farmer's tamāhine is introduced. As she was growing up, Becky shared the mahi of keeping chooks with her siblings on her whānau pāmu. Becky enjoyed friendship with one chook, her playmate, Goldie. In accordance with principles of kaitiakitanga, Becky took this role seriously. By exploring these three narratives of keeping chooks a complex range of experiences emerge. I explore these kaupapa in the following two ūpoko of this thesis.

Ūpoko Tuarima: “(Post)colonial Identities”, Māori Chook Keepers Talk (Post)colonialism, Class and Ethnicity

In this ūpoko I consider Māori chook keepers’ experiences of (post)colonialism, class²¹ and ethnicity²² within a postcolonial theoretical analysis. The title of this ūpoko deliberately positions brackets around the ‘post’ in the problematic kupu postcolonial to challenge the notion that I am studying a historical process in Aotearoa (Blunt and Wills 2000 170). In the same way that Blunt and Wills (2000 170) suggest that “postcolonial perspectives explore and resist colonial and neocolonial power and knowledge”, this part of the analysis discusses contemporary narratives of neocolonial, anticolonial and colonial factors that influence chook keeping practices in the Waikato rohe.

Poverty is an important kaupapa that I address in this ūpoko. The majority of the participants discussed financial factors that influenced their whānau’s decision to keep chooks. These whānau were literally on the poverty line and found the ability to purchase basic products such as hēki a financial strain on their budgets. Johnston *et al* (2000 627) describes poverty thus:

poverty is a condition experienced by many people who have a shortage of financial and other resources, and it means that they are likely to face difficulties in obtaining sufficient nutrition, adequate accommodation and long-term good health.

This lack of finances experienced by six of the participants has a physical and psychological impact on their whānau’s well-being.

²¹ Johnston *et al* (2000 85) report that “geographers use a range of class definitions, drawn from different theoretical traditions. In gradational approaches, classes are measured by attributes such as income, status, and education and tend to be descriptive rather than explanatory categories”. Although class usually includes several aspects that denote social status, for the purposes of this ūpoko, class rests upon financial rauemi alone.

²² Ethnicity is a complex term. Ethnicity refers to the “way in which individuals define their personal identity and a type of social stratification that emerges when people form groups based on their real or perceived origins” (Johnston *et al* 2000 235). Ethnic rūpū such as Māori can be stereotyped in a negative way (see Wall 1997 40). This ūpoko challenges these negative stereotypes by presenting an alternative view of Māori chook keepers. Despite ongoing processes of colonisation that affect some of the participants, by keeping chooks they maintain autonomy and agency.

I am interested in considering relations between people and the economy to understand colonialism's impacts on the colonial underclass, Māori, in Aotearoa. There is significant poverty in some isolated, small rural Māori communities (Māori Independence 2006). I situate this lack within its colonial and neocolonial horopaki, suggesting that poverty is a reflection of the inequalities and injustices of colonial practices.

In order to improve their financial tūrangā, some Māori keep chooks to provide nutritious and low-cost hēki and meat, and sell excess hēki to provide an income for their whānau. Although chooks and their keepers are represented as colonial imports through reo and the media,²³ by assimilating chooks into their tikanga, Māori resist these colonial discourses and attempt to improve their financial and physical well-being. This could be read as an act of anticolonialism, whereby Māori assert control over their whenua, whānau, kai choice and well-being. In this sense, Māori involved in chook keeping for financial gain attempt to reclaim their tino rangatiratanga and mana that were practically extinguished by the violence of settlement and colonisation.

I begin this analysis by outlining possible reasons for this poverty, with specific reference to colonial practices in the Waikato rohe. I discuss these impacts by exploring the narratives of Aneta, Maureen, Daniel, Josh, Joe and Tina. I then explore the ways that participants have resisted these impacts by keeping chooks for food purposes. In this sense, chooks have become integrated into the participants' cultural framework as Māori. I discuss this concept drawing from material collected for the purposes of discourse analysis. I conclude by explaining the significance of the ways that all the participants include tikanga Māori into their chook keeping practices, to a greater or lesser extent.

Reasons for Poverty

In the section I consider historical and contemporary processes of colonialism affecting the Waikato rohe that may have contributed to the significant lack of wealth

²³ Hei tauira, see Country Calendar (1970; 1977a; 1977b; 1980) and Drewery (2002).

that chook keepers such as Maureen, Daniel, Joe, Josh and Tina experience.

It is well documented that prior to pre-European contact, until the 1870s and 1880s, Māori in the Waikato rohe were highly productive and wealthy people. Hei tauira, horticultural and agricultural endeavours were successful due to fertile soils and communal management (Belich 1996 97). Belich (1996 72) states that prior to European contact, the Waikato rohe was the largest horticultural hub (4,000 hectares) in the North Island. Furthermore, Stokes (1997a 9) highlights that:

long before the arrival of Pakeha settlers, pigs, potatoes, cotton and woollen fabrics, iron tools, muskets and gunpowder, and other items of European technology were introduced in the Waikato region. Pigs, potatoes, iron tools and new fabrics, and other fruit and vegetable crops, were quickly absorbed into the local Maori economy.

Consequently when Pākehā began to settle in Aotearoa, chooks were successfully integrated into their agricultural endeavours. These chooks were kept to sell hēki and live birds to Pākehā.

During the early stages of European contact, the Waikato rohe was coined the ‘bread basket’ for Auckland. King (2003 187) reports that “the Waikato and Hauraki tribes, at first under missionary direction, were expanding crop production and supplying virtually the whole of Auckland’s flour and vegetable requirements”. Flour mills were built in the 1840s and 1850s to process wheat (Belich 1996 216). Consequently, Māori communities had increased access to grains, cereals and flour. These products were adopted into their diet. Simultaneously, chook hēki were integrated for baking to utilise flour stocks (Greensill 2005). Whakaahua 5 (see whārangi 63) details the Māori produce (a substantial amount from the Waikato) that was delivered to the ports at Onehunga and Auckland in the early 1850s (Belich 1996 216).

Whakaahua 5 (see whārangi 63) shows that in 1852, Māori sold 1588 poultry (including chooks) in Auckland. During this period of intense trade with Pākehā, Waikato Māori maintained customary rights and autonomy over the main means of wealth creation, their ancestral whenua. Consequently, Waikato Māori “did not have to sell land to generate intense economic contact” (Belich 1996 217). Furthermore, as

Whakaahua 5: Māori produce delivered to Auckland 1852-1855

Year	1852	1853	1854	1855
No. of canoes	2016	2149	1866	1958
No. of kits of: potatoes	7042	8450	2501	6340
vegetables	5086	7731	1701	4739
fruit	1254	1852	720	5653
flax and raupo	426	174	9	187
shellfish	3	70	167	361
Bundles of grass and straw	5797	5345	4027	9625
Tons of: wood	1565	2320	1951	1853
fish	52	67	81	90
flour	63	132	-	44
kauri gum	-	249	376	49
Bushels of: wheat	1674	2456	3715	1372
bran	71	-	-	-
No. of: pigs	1771	1366	961	722
goats	45	16	3	22
poultry	1588	651	660	787

Pūtake: Stokes (1997a 11).

the home of the Kingitanga movement, Waikato iwi were encouraged to maintain occupation of tribal whenua (Belich 1998 76).

The election of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero as the first Māori King in 1858 was read as an act of ‘rebellion’ by Pākehā (Belich 1998 76; Stokes 1997a 3). The “productivity of Waikato lands, especially in the Hamilton Basin and Waipa valley” was highly attractive to “Pakeha settlers, officials and land speculators”. The Kingitanga movement became a hindrance in purchasing desirable lots (Stokes 1997a 10). “Consequently, first Brown in 1861, then Grey in 1863, decided to crush the King Movement directly through the invasion of Waikato” (Belich 1996 235). The Waikato invasion resulted in a “series of battles, confiscation of land and establishment of several military townships” (Stokes 1997a 3).

The effects of the Waikato wars on Waikato Māori were substantial. Perhaps the most significant and long-lasting of these was the raupatu of ancestral whenua. The raupatu of ancestral whenua radically transformed the ability of Māori to continue economic

endeavours such as keeping chooks for commercial purposes. By government imposed confiscations of Māori whenua, Waikato Māori were limited to keeping chooks merely for their own purposes. Gardner (1992 65) reports that the raupatu of these whenua was not primarily to punish so-called Māori ‘rebels’ according to their involvement in the Waikato conflict but rather to provide Pākehā with the opportunities to purchase fertile blocks of whenua for farming purposes. Consequently,

what was taken was selected more for its fertility and strategic importance than for the owners’ part in the so-called rebellion: some tribes in the northern Waikato who had remained loyal to the Government lost land along with those who had not; and the group that had been perhaps most bellicose in both the Waikato and Taranaki wars, Ngati Maniapoto lost nothing (the Government showed little interest in the precipitous hills and valleys of their rohe until it wanted to push the main trunk railway line through there in the 1880s) (King 2003 216).

The most useful whenua were confiscated, however, Gardner (1992 65) suggests that the confiscation of ancestral whenua was not as effective in alienating Waikato Māori from their whenua and causing poverty in comparison to the activities of the Native Land Court.

The Native Land Court, also referred to as ‘Te Kooti Tango Whenua’ (the land grabbing court) was established in 1865 “to destroy communal land tenure and so both facilitate Pakeha land buying and ‘detribalise’ Maori” (Belich 1996 258). The court required owners to present evidence at hearings to determine entitlement. In the Waikato, the Native Land Court was based in Kēmureti (Stokes 1997a 20). There were legal, surveying fees and travel costs incurred for Māori through involvement in this process (Stokes 1997a 24). In some instances, Māori became ill due to homelessness, overcrowding or became in debt due to accommodation costs and other associated living costs (Stokes 1997a 24). Consequently, land had to be sold (Belich 1996 258). Although Stokes (1997a 24) suggests that the activities of the Native Land Court created a “massive social disruption of Maori communities”, Belich (1996 259) disputes this negative image of Māori as victims in the process of whenua alienation. Despite the fact that Waikato Māori were no longer in the position to undertake economic endeavours such as raising chooks for trading purposes like they had

previously, they did maintain agency.²⁴ King (2003 256) suggests that the Native Land Court became a major institution in Māori life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this wā court hearings became a venue for inter-hapū and inter-iwi rivalries and collecting Māori oral histories. Although Māori horticultural and agricultural endeavours (including chook keeping) suffered from a lack of tending, attendance at court hearings “also became occasions for reunions and hui” (King 2003 256-257).

In considering the narratives of participants in relation to poverty, I reflect on the historical backdrop of the Waikato rohe where these people live their lives. The raupatu of whenua and more importantly whenua sales from the period of 1860 to 1939 have had a dramatic and long-lasting impact on the Waikato landscape. Māori historically held autonomy over the Waikato rohe and kept chooks for commercial and domestic purposes (see whārangi 62-63). However, anecdotal evidence from one commercial chicken farmer informed me that they were not aware of any Māori contemporary owner-operator commercial chicken pāmu in the Waikato rohe. Despite the fact that a lot of Māori in the Waikato rohe are in poverty, none of the participants explained reasons for this (Maori Independence 2006). In 1995, the kāwanatanga negotiated “a \$170 million settlement with the Tainui people, which involved a full Crown apology for the wrongful confiscation of their lands” (Vowels 1996 387). Maori Independence (2006) argues that the Tainui Trustboard that manages these funds does so to benefit a new elite Waikato Māori population. Consequently, the money has not trickled down to the grass-roots level due to this kāwanatanga imposed style of management (Greensill 2005). This can be read as a neocolonial practise.

It is important to state that these colonial practises have not had an identical effect on all the participants. Hei tauira, Becky and Huia did not discuss financial difficulties in their narratives of chook keeping. These two horopaki may reflect the fact that their pāmu were owned by whānau members, they identified as Pākehā and Māori and that they were assimilated into the Pākehā dominated communities where they lived.

²⁴ See Belich (1996 259-260) and King (2003 256-257) for a detailed discussion on the role of the Native Land Court in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Aneta, Daniel, Joe, Josh, Maureen and Tina all discussed first hand experience with poverty. Although all of these participants were assimilated into Pākehā environments (to a greater or lesser extent), they do not own whenua. However, it has not been possible to explore this idea further in this thesis. Further rangahau could develop these ideas of difference as to whether or not owning whenua is a key contributing factor to poverty or not.

Poverty

The following section explores the narratives of Aneta, Maureen, Daniel, Joe, Josh and Tina in relation to poverty. I consider the implications of poverty within a broader horopaki of colonial relations.

I begin by outlining Aneta's experiences of poverty while she was growing up. It was during this wā that her whānau kept chooks for healthy hēki and occasionally fresh meat. Ūpoko tuawhā (see whārangi 49-54) introduces Aneta. Aneta comments on the level of poverty in her own household and broader community. She discusses this issue alongside issues of assimilation, colonisation and keeping chooks.

He āhua pōhara mātou. Te nuinga o ngā tāngata [i taku kāinga], he tino pōhara. Kei te kimi moni i te kiwifruit me ērā mahi, engari kāore i kimi mahi pai rawa atu.

Aneta perceives a difference in the wealth of her whānau in comparison to her Māori neighbours. Although she describes her own household as quite poor, the majority of Māori in her community are very poor. She provides seasonal mahi such as picking kiwifruit as a reason for the lack of regular incomes in the rohe. By keeping chooks, her whānau are able to provide a regular, healthy kai source, which was particularly helpful when money was tight.

Later in the interview, Aneta reflects on the reasons that her whānau are better off in comparison to others in her rohe. She discusses processes of colonisation, integration and the urban drift as significant reason for their comparative affluence:

kei te waimarie [t]aku whānau nā te mea ki tēnei taha i tupu ake rātou i roto i te reo Pākehā, ki tēnei taha, ki roto i te reo, ki te tikanga Māori. Koia nā te āhua o [t]aku whānau nā te mea ko ōku mātua in the urban drift. So i haere atu rātou ki Tūrangi, ā, kātahi ka hoki atu rātou ki te hau kāinga. I reira he āhua colonised te āhua o ōku mātua nā te mea ka [whaka]tū taku pāpā i tētahi whare mō te heihei.

Aneta reflects on her fortune in growing up in an environment whereby she was able to learn both te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā from her mātua. Her mātua were involved with the urban drift. Aneta describes her mātua as colonised due to their experiences living in Tūrangi. While in Tūrangi, her mātua learnt te reo Pākehā and interacted with Pākehā. Upon returning to reside in Ōpōtiki, Aneta's matua deliberately decided to embrace te reo Pākehā and the various skills that they had learnt from Pākehā. Hei tauira, Aneta's matua built a chook whare and pen for their chooks. Aneta perceives this as unusual because the majority of Māori in their rohe let their chooks free range permanently.

Aneta's exploration of colonialism and poverty is significant. Although she acknowledges that all Māori in her community were poor, Aneta recognises the differentiation in poverty levels between those that integrated with Pākehā ways and those that did not (see hooks 1996 81 for a discussion of assimilation in the North American context). By restricting their chooks from leaving their chook whare and pen for at least part of the day, like their Pākehā friends in Tūrangi, Aneta's whānau were able to collect all the hēki laid each day. Unlike their Māori neighbours who did not keep their chooks in any form of enclosure, Aneta's whānau were in a better position to collect the maximum return of hēki for their investment of wheat. Although Aneta's whānau kept chooks in an unusual manner, by keeping chooks in the same way that Pākehā did, Aneta's whānau benefited financially.

Assimilation is a colonial tool. hooks (1996 81) discusses the process of discrimination drawing from the American horopaki whereby "those black folk will be most successful who assume the values and attitudes of privileged whites". Drawing from hooks' and Aneta's kōrero about assimilation we learn that there are differences between those colonised peoples that actively choose to embrace the reo, tikanga and values of the coloniser and those that do not. There becomes a financial

difference between the privileged tūrangā of those that choose to assimilate in comparison to those that do not.

Becky (see ūpoko tuawhā, whārangi 56-59) and Huia were both raised on whānau owned pāmu near to Otorohanga. It was during these periods that their respective whānau kept chooks. As a reflection of their bicultural identities, they became integrated into the Pākehā dominated farming communities. In this horopaki, commercial productivity was elevated. Consequently, Māori ideas about caring for the whenua and kararehe including chooks such as kaitiakitanga became subordinate (see whārangi 57-58). By owning their own whenua and embracing Pākehā farming practices, Becky and Huia's whānau did not experience poverty to the same degree as other participants such as Maureen as will be discussed below.

Maureen also discusses poverty issues that affect her whānau and her ability to keep chooks. Maureen lives with her tane, Noel and their tamariki in a pāmu cottage near Te Awamutu. Maureen explains the living arrangements of these tamariki in the following quotation:

Noel and I have got three kids together and I've really actually really got four, one living up in Auckland and three in this house. Noel's got two in Tauranga so actually there's actually nine. Nine between the pair of us.

Although there are six tamariki and two adults permanently living with Maureen, at times such as during the Kirihimete hararei this number increases to nine tamariki and two adults.

As Noel is employed as a full-time dairy pāmu labourer, Maureen does all the domestic mahi and tamaiti care. They are on a low income and Maureen attempts to contribute to the financial wellbeing of the whānau by breeding special types of chooks to sell as live birds. She collects fertilised hēki and artificially incubates them. Upon hatching, Maureen cares for them until they are large enough to sell. Unfortunately she was forced to significantly downsize due to the costs incurred with running the artificial incubator and feeding these chooks. Although there was

potential to make a sizable profit from breeding and selling these special breeds, Maureen could not invest the capital to continue feeding her 70 chooks.

In addition to the cost of feeding her chooks, housing and general living expenses such as electricity bills were Maureen's primary concerns for her large whānau.²⁵ She describes their housing conditions as substandard, dysfunctional and tiny. As an employee on a dairy pāmu, Maureen's husband is provided with a two bedroom cottage for his whānau. They were provided limited space outdoors for their chooks to free-range, which decreased their abilities to find their own kai. Consequently, more money was needed for feeding them. I reflected on Maureen's living environment in my rangahau journal: "I interviewed Maureen today. She lives in a two bedroom house with goats inside as well as birds, cats, dogs and kids". It was the middle of hōtoke when I visited her. She complained of a high power bill due to increased heating costs, kararehe living inside the house to keep warm and piles of wet washing unable to be dried due to wet weather. Simple tasks like providing space for her tamariki to do their mahi kāinga and dry tauera to use after bathing became problematic. Maureen was clearly displeased with her kāinga that she described as "too small". She also expressed dissatisfaction about her husband's low wages relative to the long hāora he works.

Maureen's money concerns seem to have emerged largely in response to the way that her husband is being exploited. Noel, her husband, works long hāora but does not receive sufficient remuneration in the forms of adequate accommodation and monetary payments to maintain even a modest lifestyle. I read this poverty as embedded within colonial and capital processes whereby Noel is being exploited in order for his employer to make significant financial profit. Although Noel works long hāora, his employer does not. Although Noel lives in a substandard kāinga, his employer does not. In this horopaki, the wealthy become wealthier and the poor become poorer. This cycle of poverty and exploitation are interconnected.

²⁵ I am aware that some 'right-wingers' would argue that Maureen should take responsibility for her poverty due to the number of tamariki that she has decided to have. Despite this, Maureen's decision to have a large family reflects the cultural significance that she places on natural fertility and the importance of whānau. Maureen perceives that she should not have to experience hardship due to engaging with this cultural practise.

Furthermore, it is difficult to break this cycle when the employers use their power to exploit their employees for their own benefit.

Colonialism and capitalism are based on the principle of capital gain through exploitation (Blunt and Wills 2000 169). Capitalists exploit labourers, such as Noel to make a financial profit. This profit is not shared with the labourers (see Johnston *et al* 2000 56- 59). This process is also often racialised.

Most commentators agree that racialization [sic] is necessarily a negative process, where one group chooses to define another as morally and/or genetically inferior in order to oppress it (Johnston *et al* 2000 235).

Racialisation is linked to racism. I argue that racialisation, capitalism and colonialism are interlocked, creating a class based division system. In Aotearoa, Māori such as Maureen often hold the lowest financial status in society (Māori Independence 2006). I suggest that the combined affects of processes of racialisation, capitalism and colonialism contribute to this poverty.

Maureen and Aneta share a common thread of poverty woven into their narratives of chook keeping. Although they are displeased, these wāhine seem almost adjusted to the fact they will remain in a cycle of poverty. I understand colonial processes as largely responsible for this situation. Central to colonialism is the exploitation and marginalisation of tangata whenua such as Maureen, Aneta and their whānau. Although we live in a so-called postcolonial state, the impacts of colonialism are still present. Perhaps the most significant of these impacts is the psychological damage that colonialism has on the subaltern (hooks 2003 38). That is, often Māori do not challenge the cycle of poverty that their whānau experience because their expectations and self-esteem is hindered. As the subaltern, they occupy the lowest status in the 'pecking order' (hooks 1997). hooks (2003 38) elaborates that it is the "world of advertisement, commercials, magazine images" that daily reinforce this lower status. Those caught up in the cycle of poverty such as Maureen do not often seek to address why there are insufficient finances to fund basic household requirements such as kai and electricity bills. In this horopaki, chooks either contribute to the well-being of Māori or become a liability.

Throughout the focus rūpū with Daniel, Joe and Josh there was reference to financial difficulties that they experienced while growing up. As a family of two adults and seven tamariki, keeping chooks became a solution for feeding and entertaining everybody. There was reference to their matua working as a pāmu labourer and becoming ill. This meant that there was even less money available for their living costs, including chook kai. During the focus rūpū, Joe told the following kōrero about the prohibitive cost of keeping chooks. Although the chooks provided hēki for cooking and baking, Joe's whaea made the statement "it's [keeping chooks] costing us a fortune". Furthermore if the chooks went off the lay, Joe's Mum would say "if you don't lay something I'm gonna cut your head off". Although this kōrero paki was said in jest, there was an element of reality involved. Basic living costs such as kai, heating, power, health bills and clothing was a challenge during Daniel, Joe and Josh's upbringing. It was in this horopaki of poverty that the whānau decided to keep chooks. At times the chooks were let to merely free range for kai rather than feeding them, due to the financial burden of buying chook kai. In other instances, Joe would steal pig pellets from the pig pāmu where they lived and feed it to their chooks.

Tina struggled to manage her whānau's budgetary requirements. Tina's husband is employed as a labourer on a dairy pāmu. In addition to financial remuneration, he is provided with housing on the dairy pāmu. Unfortunately this income is insufficient to pay the day-to-day bills of running their household and feed their whānau of two adults and three tamariki. At the time that I first met with Tina to discuss her involvement in this rangahau, she was looking for full-time employment in the Matamata rohe. This additional income was necessary to supplement her husband's income. Tina found this employment search was stressful, particularly given her difficulties in finding employment within close proximity to their kāinga. When I went to conduct the interview with Tina, she had been offered a job milking cows twice daily in Morrinsville. This meant that Tina would have to spend a substantial amount of time and money travelling to and from mahi twice daily. Thus, Tina's abilities to increase her whānau's income were limited by her physical isolation. In the meantime, Tina had decided to keep chooks as a means of providing a cheap kai source.

In the interview, Tina talked about the implications of economic restraints on her household. Hei tauira, Tina talks about the price of hēki as being expensive on a limited budget. She felt that when she worked out the price of feeding her chooks in comparison to buying hēki at the shop that her chooks “definitely earn their keep”. Consequently, Tina keeps 10 chooks for their hēki as a money saving strategy. Occasionally she is able to give hēki away as koha to friends and neighbours. In my rangahau journal, I made the following remark about this:

I found this interesting that in a busy farming household that money trouble was at the top of the list of concerns. Feeding herself, her husband and their three children was hard-going some wiki.

This journal entry reflects my difficulty in understanding poverty issues affecting people such as Tina. I could not understand how in a so-called developed nation, such as Aotearoa, that people would experience such difficulties finding the funds to provide adequate nutrition for their whānau.

Becky also spoke about the increased cost of chook hēki as making them too expensive to buy, which resulted in her whānau’s decision to raise their numbers of chooks for their own purposes and also for selling spare hēki. Becky comments:

I think I was at high school by this stage. I was at that early teens, I guess sorta 12 or 13 when eggs went up in price or something. And so my Dad decided oh well, as an extra way of making money we could grow some eggs. So we bought lots of chooks. I dunno, about two or three dozen. I remember taking big basketfuls to the grocer shop in town and selling them and getting a wee bit from them. It was mainly for economic reasons, I think. Yeah, so we could sell eggs.

Selling hēki resulted in pocket money for Becky and her brother. Financial independence as rangatahi was important. In this case, chook keeping became a means to resist poverty.

Kai

All the participants agreed that the main reason that they keep or kept their chooks is for the purposes of eating their hēki and occasionally their meat to save money. They

all agreed that chook hēki and meat are good sources of affordable nutrition for whānau on limited incomes. Aneta described how important chooks are in her whānau as food producers. “Ki taku whānau, ko te mea taonga ko te hēki. Koia rā te mea hei whakakai [i] te whānau”. According to Aneta, chook hēki are a taonga because they nourish the entire whānau. In addition to keeping chooks in South Waikato as a tamaiti, Huia was also responsible for keeping chooks while working as a volunteer on an organic tree pāmu near Nelson. Also, Huia adopted some chooks while living on a lifestyle block at Te Pahu with her tane and their tama. Although she does not currently keep chooks, she intends to again upon her retirement. Huia recognises that chooks are an asset due to their ability to produce affordable healthy kai:

the chooks produced eggs and you can eat eggs and that’s really good nutrition. [The eggs] were really good protein nutrition for visitors and they’re basically free and you don’t have to go to town and buy meat and that sort of thing. It’s on site, good nutrition.

As a visitor to the pāmu, Huia appreciated the nutrition that she received by the provision of chook hēki. Huia eats only a small amount of meat and enjoys the health benefits that she receives from eating this protein rich kai. By feeding chooks with on site materials, Huia recognises the fact that the hēki are “basically free”.

Becky agreed with Huia about the health benefits of fresh, free range hēki. Becky said that her chooks used to “lay lovely eggs”. Huia describes the hēki her chooks used to lay using the following kupu: “they taste different and they usually have very bright orange yolks”. Maureen speaks of the benefits of using hēki in cooking.

I only use [eggs] for baking. Baking and Noel’s breakfasts or whatever. Yeah, mainly for cooking and for breakfasts for Noel and myself.

As a household that fluctuates between eight and eleven members, Maureen outlined the huge financial benefits of having hēki readily available. Although a couple of her tamariki were allergic to hēki, the ability to use them for baking and for her husband’s morning meal was a lot more affordable than buying them. In the winter months, when Maureen’s chooks went off the lay, she said that “it’s a pain, ‘cause you gotta

go buy eggs”. When I explored this dissatisfaction with buying hēki, I learned that it was due to the expense rather than the task of commuting into town to shop. Aside from the health benefits, repeatedly the participants refer to the importance of being self-sufficient and able to provide an affordable pūtake of kai for their whānau.

Although eating chook meat was a difficult kaupapa for most of the participants to discuss, it was important because it reflects different attitudes towards human-animal relations. Aneta passionately objects to eating chook meat. Although not a vegetarian, Aneta’s rational was “kāore au i kai [i] tētahi mea e mōhio ana”. In addition to objecting to eating chooks that she once knew, she describes her chooks as skinny and unappetising. Tina reflects similar attitudes towards the culling and eating of her own chooks, thus:

I’ve got pigs up there and I eat them but I’d just prefer to buy a chicken from the shop. It’s already been plucked and gutted. See with pigs I send them away. I don’t see that [killing]. I just leave them behind and just pick up the packaged pork. So it’s not associated [with me].

Tina felt that killing and eating her own chooks, although perhaps cheaper than buying them was too intimate. In a similar vein to Aneta, Tina felt that the killing of her own chooks was “just too personal”. It seems that the majority of the participants that had close contact with their chooks felt too emotionally attached to eat them.

Huia offers a contradictory whakaaro. She said that it was commonplace during her childhood to keep chooks for the hēki and meat. She made the following comment:

I suppose in rural New Zealand most households did have chooks and I believe it was for eggs and then there’s the spin-off that you can eat the meat of the old chooks frequently, you can raise chickens to have spares.

Although Tina is opposed to eating chook meat, Huia feels that this practise was commonplace in Aotearoa. Huia also discusses the input required to kill and prepare a chook for the table. This means that home grown chooks are rarely served these days. Huia shared the following kōrero about her thoughts on the need for killing chooks for eating in the pioneering days that once existed in Aotearoa:

I think probably in [the] pioneering days it was part of the survival, this was a meat source, so you just had to get on with it and Mum's mother and father were pioneers, they came over from England and Shetland Islands and so you just, if you wanted food, you just had to do the killing when you were hungry. No choice.

This quotation reflects Huia's colonial heritage as some of her adopted mother's ancestors were European settlers. She elaborates on this need to kill and eat meat in the following statement: "just like early hunter gatherers they went with the bow and arrow and they, you know, shot the creature [that] they needed to eat". While Huia acknowledges here a historical connection with killing chooks for the table, this practise ceased in her whānau as chooks were kept mostly for their hēki. Watts (1999 206) writes about a change in consumers' attitudes towards buying chicken meat. Due to a variety of factors, including a cost reduction of commercially raising chooks for the table, it is now readily available and affordable to purchase chicken meat in supermarkets. Consequently there has been a reduction in the rate of chook keepers killing their chooks for eating purposes.

Representations of Chooks and Their Keepers: Merging the Boundaries of 'Self' and 'Other'

Despite the fact that chooks play an important role in contributing to the nutritional and financial health of the participants in this study, they are often portrayed as the 'exotic other'. Cudworth (2003 160) writes about the separation of humans from nature that dominates western thought. Campbell (1999 240) argues that this separation stems from one perspective of the Judaeo-Christian doctrine which gives humans "the right to control, manipulate, tame or even conquer nature". This creates a bipolar opposite, which privileges culture over nature. Whakaahua 6 (see whārangi 76) illustrates the implication of this separation for the subject of this section, chooks. Although there is normally a separation between 'self' or 'coloniser' and 'other' or 'colonised', chooks seem to merge these boundaries. Although chooks have historically been linked to the coloniser, by embracing chooks into their ways of life, chooks have become assimilated into Māori culture.

Whakaahua 6: The Separation of Nature from Culture and its Implications for Representations of Chooks

Self	Other
Coloniser	Colonised
Pākehā	Māori
Potatoe	Kūmara
Male	Female
Humans	Kararehe
Chooks	Chooks

Pūtake: kaituhi (2006).

During the focus rōpū, I asked the rōpū of young tāne whether they felt that their chooks were included in their whānau. Joe’s response was, “no, they were just chooks, chooks were just a domestic farm animal, just like pigs”. I discussed the kaupapa with Māori academic David Simmons (2005) and found similar ideas. Simmons (2005) suggests that since chooks were domestic kararehe introduced by Pākehā, they come with European ideas about caring (or not caring) for them. Similarly, Greensill (2005) perceives that chooks were introduced by the colonisers and are subject to Pākehā farming customs. In this sense, chooks are an expression of colonial interaction and are not included in Māori whakapapa. Although Māori adapted to eating chook hēki and meat, they are generally perceived to be not part of Māori culture.

Drewery’s (2002) publication *Nanny Mihi’s Garden* also reflects this kitenga. In the pūrākau, the main character, Nanny Mihi tends to her māra growing huawhenua to share with her whānau. As the pūrākau unravels, Nanny Mihi’s mokopuna visit and see the different dynamics of the māra during the four seasons of the tau. Together the whānau plants, tend, harvest, cook and eat the huawhenua from Nanny Mihi’s māra. Early on in the pukapuka, readers are introduced to the chooks. Nanny Mihi says “our garden will grow beautiful huawhenua but we’d better shut the gate – those heihei look hungry” (Drewery 2002 4). Clearly the hungry chooks are excluded from Nanny Mihi’s māra using a gate.²⁶

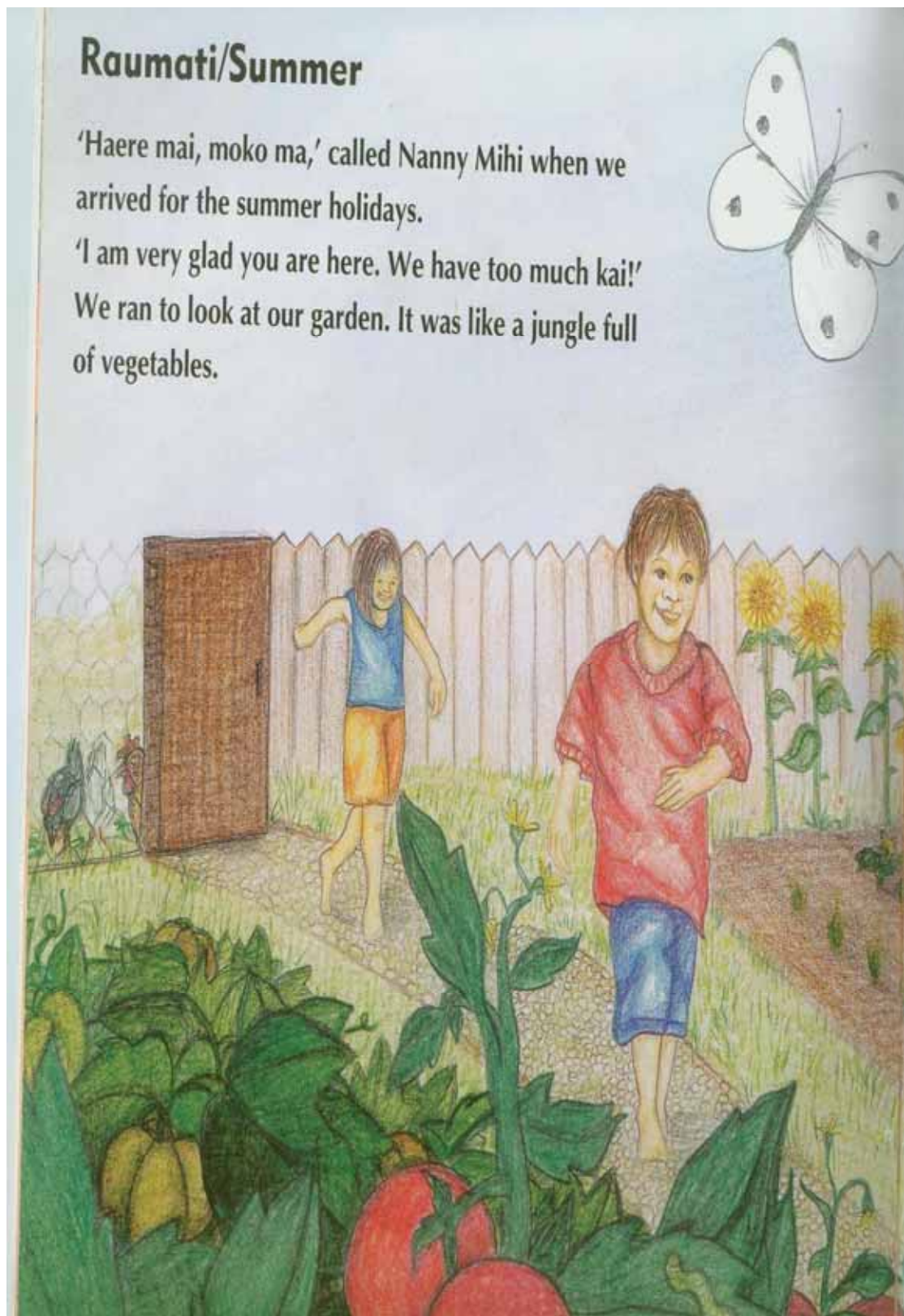
²⁶ Drewery’s (2002) publication is the only children’s pukapuka that displayed any form of Māori chook keeping that I was able to find for the purposes of this rangahau. Although the chooks appear in the background of illustrations, their presence does provide interesting insights into discourses of Māori chook keeping.

It is interesting to note that the illustration for this text shows Nanny Mihi planting kākano. Nanny Mihi's ringaringa are shown in the middle of the whārangi using a trowel to make a hole to plant kākano. A noke is located just in front of the hole. The kākano are colonial huawhenua such as carrots and tomatoes. Traditional Māori kai such as kūmara are not planted. To the left hand side of the whārangi is a large watering can. Beside the watering can is a sparrow. These images depict a colonial system of interacting with the whenua whereby exclusion, domination and control are necessary for so-called productivity. The text constructs an image that chooks are not welcome in this māra because they are too hungry. On the one hand, the chooks are confined to living behind the taiapa. On the other hand, the noke and sparrow are freely permitted access to the māra, seemingly to enjoy its produce. Perhaps domesticated kararehe are disciplined and starved, whereas wild kararehe are not. In this process Nanny Mihi's chooks are 'othered'.

The following whārangi of *Nanny Mihi's Garden* also reflects a discourse that excludes chooks (Drewery 2002 5-6, see Whakaahua 7, whārangi 78). During the peak of raumati, there is clearly a bounty of kai as demonstrated by the depiction of a plentiful māra, a wheelbarrow full of huawhenua, Nanny Mihi's arms filled with lettuces and Nanny Mihi's statement "we have too much kai!" (Drewery 2002 5-6). Despite this excess of kai in the māra, the chooks continue to be excluded from this space. The humans, caterpillars, white butterflies and seagulls remain the dominant images in the illustrations and the chooks occupy a small section behind and to the left hand side of the humans. This communicates to the readers that the food requirements of humans and other living things such as white butterflies are privileged over chooks.

There was a very limited presence of Māori chook keepers in all of the texts that I examined for the purposes of this thesis. Hei tauira, Country Calendar (1970; 1977a; 1977b; 1980) only conducted interviews with Pākehā chicken farmers and their whānau. Although these episodes are 26 to 36 years old, they provide interesting insights because there were two instances where Māori were included. First, Māori wāhine were shown working in the packaging process.

Whakaahua 7: An Extract from *Nanny Mihi's Garden*, by Melanie Drewery



Pūtake: Drewery (2002 5).

This appeared to be a boring, repetitive and poorly paid mahi (Country Calendar 1970). Second, a Māori wahine shared her mātauranga about growing kūmara with her neighbour, a Pākehā chook keeper (Country Calendar 1977b). In this programme, traditional Māori mātauranga about growing kai was shown on national television. These representations of chook keeping seem to aptly reflect the reality in Aotearoa culture whereby Māori are exploited. In the first instance, Māori wāhine were being 'kept out the back'. Furthermore, they worked hard for little financial reward while their Pākehā employers were making significant financial gains.

In the second instance, the Pākehā farmer was gaining traditional mātauranga about growing a crop without financial exchange in order to again make financial gains. Māori are either completely overlooked or exploited in representations of chook keeping. On the one hand, chooks are perceived as colonial and are kept in the same ways that Pākehā do. However, on the other hand, chooks are perceived as colonised and are kept in accordance with tikanga Māori. The following section unpacks these Māori beliefs and practices.

Tikanga Māori and Chooks

The inclusion of tikanga Māori is an important kaupapa in discourses surrounding chook keeping. Despite the differences between participants' mātauranga, confidence and abilities, one of the consistencies that exists throughout all the narratives is the importance of utilising Māori cultural practices on a daily basis.

All of the participants displayed an appreciation for the importance of Māori values such as being inclusive and holistic in their chook keeping practices. Aneta, Maureen and Huia discussed issues such as the mana, mauri and whakapapa of their chooks. Furthermore, for Maureen, Tina and Huia, chooks were perceived as part of their whānau. This kitenga is interesting because it displays an awareness of cultural hybridity (see Ūpoko Tuarua: Literature Review, whārangi 16-17). That is, by integrating chooks into their value system, the participants demonstrate a merging of a foreign kararehe into an indigenous culture.

Aneta, Maureen, Tina, Becky and Huia all express an interest in a Māori holistic approach whereby their chooks hold a similar status to humans. In this sense, like humans, chooks are perceived as possessing their own pūtake of mana. In a literal sense, mana can be translated into te reo Pākehā as meaning “authority, control, prestige, power, effectual, binding, authoritative, having influence or power” (Williams 1975 172). According to Aneta, all living things possess mana, including chooks. She elaborates thus:

he taonga, he mana kē te heihei. Ahakoa, āe, he kai, ko te mea nui ko
te mōhio ki te tiaki ngā heihei nā te mea ka hinga, well, ka hinga te
whānau.

Aneta believes that chooks are a taonga because they possess mana. She acknowledges that her whānau are dependent on their chooks for survival. Her final statement emphasises their importance by saying that if the chooks do not prosper, neither do the whānau. Clearly chooks are a central aspect of Māori society.

Aneta also discussed the concept of mauri in relation to her chooks. Barlow (1991 83) translates mauri as “life-essence”. Furthermore, he argues that “everything has a mauri, including people, fish, animals, birds, forests, land, seas, and rivers” (Barlow 1991 83). Aneta agrees, applying the notion of mauri to her chooks:

he mauri ki tētahi, ki tētahi, ki tētahi anō ngā mea katoa. Ko ngā mea
katoa o te ao i roto i [te] tikanga a te Māori, āe kotahi te tūranga o ngā
mea nā te mea ko ia mea hei [sic] mauri anō kei roto i a rātou.

Aneta explains that according to tikanga Māori, all living things occupy an equal tūranga because they all possess mauri. Chooks were integrated into this approach and Aneta recalls her mātua conducting karakia and having spiritual kōrero with their chooks. This was a regular ritual.

Another tikanga Māori that has been adapted to chook keeping is the concept of whakapapa and fertility. As a breeder of rare breeds of chooks, the general health and fertility of Maureen’s chooks is a high priority. Consequently, she does not advocate neutering or spaying them. When I asked whether she knew of other Māori that held similar beliefs, she replied:

Māori have got different views in bringing up animals like they don't neuter them or spade them. Yeah, we have Māori families as friends and they don't believe in neutering or spading [sic] their animals and so they run large litters of animals.

In addition to being negative about neutering and spaying, Maureen is positive about natural breeding processes. Hei tauira, she keeps at least one rooster with every flock of laying chooks to increase the production of naturally fertilised hēki. She then collects these hēki for artificial incubation. If however, any of her chooks are broody, she immediately places all fertilised hēki under them in isolated separate enclosures (so that the broody chooks do not attempt to disturb other laying chooks). Although Maureen has achieved many successes using artificial incubation, she believes that natural incubation is more reliable, easier to manage and cheaper in comparison to artificial incubation. In summary, Maureen is supportive of natural processes of reproduction for chooks.

As kaitiaki, Becky and Huia talked about a holistic approach to caring for the environment, including chooks whereby all living things are connected. Huia perceives a link between Māori environmental ideas and the Permaculture Movement.

Everything being connected which is a not only a Māori principle, but in the environmental movement they're talking about connectiveness a lot more now. I notice the Permaculture Movement has actually blended into Māori views of land incredibly well it just seems to be one and the same concept. Yes this connecting, all things are connected in lots of cycles rather than linear concepts, they're all cyclic concepts.

In the above quotation Huia demonstrates a sophisticated awareness of the intersection between her Māori and permaculture ideas about caring for the environment. Mollison (1988 3) argues that central to the Permaculture Movement is “the basic realisation of our interconnectedness with nature, that we depend on good health in all systems for our survival”. I explore the implications of these ideas to chook keeping practices in the following paragraphs.

During the wā that Huia's whānau kept chooks, they also had a substantial organic huawhenua māra to remain self-sufficient. Huia illustrates the way that the māra and the chooks were mutually beneficial:

she [Mum] might grab a few leaves of silverbeet as she was walking out to the yard and she would throw it in there [the chook run] and of course they had a wonderful time scratching amongst all the bits and pieces and of course they pooped while they were in there as well. When they're on the roost at night they do a lot of poo underneath the roosts and because I was very small Mum would get me to go in and shovel out their poo every so often and that was really excellent on the vege garden.

Huia reflects on her experiences as a tamaiti collecting chook excrement from the chook run to compost the huawhenua māra. Although the huawhenua were primarily grown to provide kai for the whānau, Huia indicates that her whaea would occasionally harvest some fresh silverbeet for the chooks. In this way, an interconnected cycle was established to provide nutrients for people, huawhenua and chooks.

Huia continues the exploration of Māori and permaculture ideas about holistic care for the environment, drawing from the example of her whaea culling a chook for eating purposes. She is a strong advocate for zero waste as the following quotation illustrates.

She [Mum] would just chop their head off with the axe. Then [she'd remove all the] feathers off it and got all the guts out and buried those in the garden for compost. So everything was cycled around. We saw them as an integral part of a sort of food, of a resource cycle, I suppose. Well, you could eat them on the one hand, but they produce eggs and we can eat those, but then any scraps that we produce we can give to them and so it's a kind of give and take and it's all a cycle thing, there's no waste at all.

In addition to chook excrement being used as compost, Huia's whānau would bury the uneaten parts of culled chooks in their māra. Later in the interview, Huia explained that she also thought that the feathers of chooks, particularly roosters, could be used for beautiful Māori artwork such as harakeke weaving. Thus, by utilising the labour (in the form of digging out unwanted weeds in certain wāhi), feathers (for

artwork or compost) and excrement (to compost the māra) of their chooks, Huia concluded that they were an integral component of their pāmu.

Maureen, Tina and Huia discussed the fact that they felt that their chooks were a part of their whānau. I think kitenga is interesting because it contradicts the material presented earlier in this ūpoko about chooks being represented as the 'other'.

Tina holds her chooks in high esteem. She compared the tūranga of her kararehe with her tamariki. The following quotation succinctly summarises her whakaaro on this matter.

All my animals are equal. It doesn't matter what animal it is, it needs to be looked after, [and] that's a priority. You look after your animals better than your kids!

Although katakata followed this kōrero, Tina felt that parenting and caring for kararehe, including chooks demands the same degree of responsibility. Perhaps her greatest concern about starting a new job was that she would not be able to feed her chooks prior to leaving in the mornings.

Maureen values her chooks as an economic asset, however she discussed the way that her tamariki have adopted them into the whānau. She told the following kōrero paki about her 12 year old tamāhine and her emotional attachments to her kararehe.

Yep, my 12 year old. Ah, everything's equal. She couldn't really part with her two kids on Sunday, the baby kids and that was a really emotional time. And she said 'well, Mum they're all equal, they're all important to me and it's what I love'. She said 'I love Dad and I love my rabbits, I love my girls [my chooks], I love my goats so they're all equal'. So that's what she's been saying, that's my 12 year old.

Clearly Maureen's tamāhine does not differentiate between the importance of kararehe and people. They all hold equal status and she provides all of them with equal aroha and attention. Huia had a similar emotional response. She stated that people are not superior to any other living thing.

Whakarāpopototanga

I consider issues of class and ethnicity in this analysis from a postcolonial perspective. By exploring the narratives of Māori chook keepers from the Waikato we learn that the lives of the colonial underclass have been intertwined with the colonial project of exploitation. If they choose to assimilate and embrace Pākehā language and ways, they stand to make financial gains. Clearly, the colonial process still has economic and psychological influence in Aotearoa. Although chooks are defined by the participants as connected to colonial influence, the participants have assimilated them into their lifestyles for financial gain. First, chook hēki and meat are used to provide protein rich nutrition for their whānau. Second, chook hēki are sold for a profit. In this sense, chooks also fit into a hybrid category where there are links to both Māori and Pākehā communities. I read the participants choice to keep chooks as a decision to assimilate a Pākehā kararehe into their communities in an attempt to challenge a cycle of poverty.

Ūpoko Tuaono: “Silly Old Chook”, Gender Issues Surrounding Chooks and their Keepers

Gender is one of the most prominent re-occurring kaupapa from this rangahau. In this ūpoko, I discuss gendered representations of chooks and their keepers. I title this ūpoko, “Silly Old Chook”. This title choice reflects the way that the participants describe their perceptions of their chooks as feminised, stupid and entertaining. Furthermore, I explore other gendered aspects of chook keeping practices, drawing from the experiences of the eight rangahau participants.

Central to this theme is Cartesian thinking founded on the ideas of philosopher, Descartes. Cartesian thinking creates a masculine/feminine dualism or binary whereby femininity is associated with hysteria, greed, excess and helplessness and masculinity is associated with control, intelligence and wisdom (see Campbell 1999 241).

This male/female binary also impacts upon the gendered division of labour whereby it is females that undertake the majority of ‘unpaid’ domestic labour (Begg 2001 95).²⁷ This is due to the:

separation of work from home, that is the public from the private. This in turn changed the value placed on the work done by men and women. It made the home invisible in the sphere of work and ignored the unpaid domestic work carried out by women (Begg 2001 95)

The creation of this dichotomy between public and private spaces is gendered. In this context, women become responsible for all domestic tasks, including chook keeping. By considering the narratives of the participants in relation to gender, I explore the postcolonial feminist theoretical framework outlined in Ūpoko Tuarua: Literature Review (see whārangī 17-20) to unpack the kitenga in this ūpoko.

Chooks as Feminised, Hysterical, Comical and Silly

In the same way that women are often perceived as hysterical, comical and silly, chooks are also. This is because of the way that all chooks (including chicks and

²⁷ For a discussion about the gendered division of labour see Bakan (2005 322-327).

roosters) are defined by the participants as feminised. Tina describes the ways that her chooks behave in a scatterbrain, child-like and foolish manner. This influenced the names that she chose for her chooks. Hei tauira, she named one of her chooks “Henny Penny”. I was curious why Tina had chosen this name for her chook. She elaborates thus:

cause when she first turned up and she still does, you know, she runs around like a chicken without a head. Just the way that she behaves, she’s a scatterbrain.

Tina describes her chook as a “chicken without a head” and as a “scatterbrain”. Tina chose this ingoa from the well-known Henny Penny²⁸ fairy tale about a chook who believes that the sky is falling. Wikimedia Foundation (2006) asserts that this phrase is now used to indicate a hysterical belief that disaster is imminent. In this way, Tina perceives her chook as naïve.

Marni describes her chooks as “quite comical”. She tells the following funny narrative about her chooks from her childhood:

as soon as I got up in the morning you just heard all the hens running, they would just jump off the table and you could see them all running to be feed. Sometimes I used to race them in the morning. They were quite comical.

Marni depicts a scene whereby the chooks were used to create a humorous encounter, for entertainment purposes. Daniel and Josh spoke about the fun that they had chasing their chooks around the yard. At times Daniel would use his ‘BB’ gun to shoot chooks. Huia and Marni did not believe that this kind of exploitation or interruption would not be permitted under tikanga Māori with indigenous manu such as Kiwi or Pūkeko. Perhaps it is because chooks are partly perceived as a colonial manu, and as such are not subject to strict tikanga Māori, that this exploitation and fun is allowed.

In the pukapuka, *Nanny Mihi’s Garden* by Melanie Drewery (2002), there is discussion about the chooks being stupid. In hōtoke, Nanny Mihi’s mokopuna go to

²⁸ This is also referred to as the Chicken Little or Chicken Licken fairy tale (Wikimedia Foundation 2006).

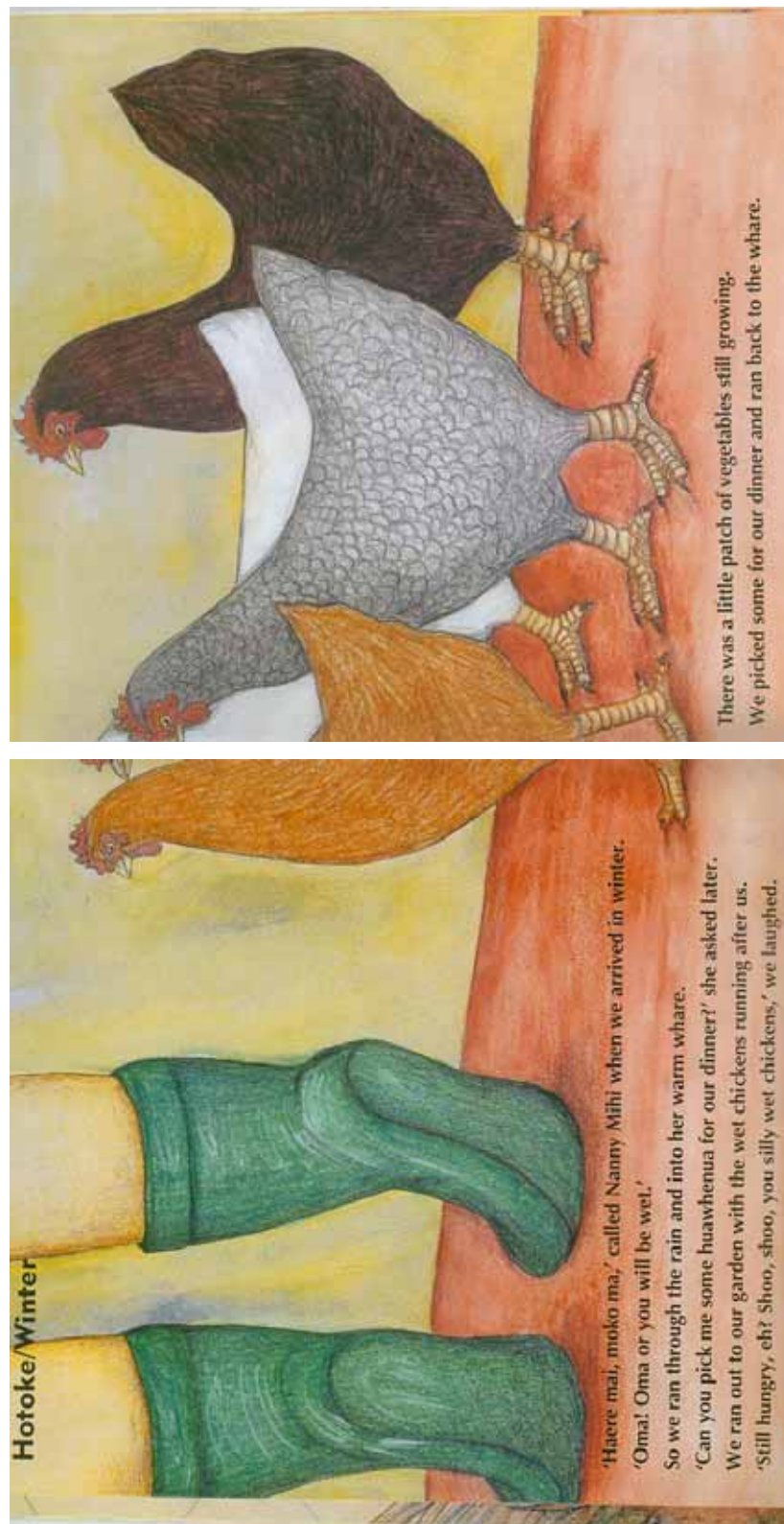
the māra to collect huawhenua. The chooks followed the tamariki and their response was to laugh at them and reprimand them by saying “shoo, shooo, you silly wet chickens” (Drewery 2002 17-18, see Whakaahua 8, whārangi 88). The illustration on this whārangi shows a tamaiti wearing green boots standing up on tip toes and four brightly coloured chooks eagerly following behind. The chooks are domineering and are centred on the whārangi. They also have beady eyes and seem eager to be fed. I think that by calling the chooks “silly” they are highlighting the binary that exists between the chooks and the humans in the pūrākau. In this context, the chooks are repeatedly portrayed as stupid, hungry and nameless whereas the humans such as Nanny Mihi clearly have ingoa, are freely permitted kai from the māra and are portrayed as clever.

In the following whārangi, the tamariki complain about the chooks’ stupidity to their kuia. The mokopuna have forgotten to shut the chicken coop gate and consequently there is no more kai in the māra. Instead of taking responsibility for allowing the chooks to eat all the huawhenua, the tamariki are disgusted by the chooks’ behaviour. In their dialogue they tell Nanny Mihi that the chooks are stupid. The tamariki do not accept the fact that chooks have the right to free-range and eat a diverse range of kai. They go on to say that the whānau “should have chicken for tea” (Drewery 2002 19). Not only do the tamariki merely complain about the chooks stupidity but also threaten to destroy them.

‘Helpless’

Another kitenga of this rangahau is that chooks are considered to be ‘helpless’ and therefore need constant and ongoing care and attention by people. Josh noted that if a chook was sick that without human intervention it would die. Becky made the following comment about caring for her chooks: “it’s a very fundamental part of farming really, I guess: looking after animals”. Becky felt that it was important to nurture her chooks because no one else would. Tina also spoke about her nurturing role in regards to chook keeping. She said that her chooks were helpless and relied on her. She compared looking after her chooks to looking after her tamariki: “you look after your animals better than your kids. Well, it’s just neat. They rely on me”. Becky agreed and suggested that it was “[having chooks that] taught me how to care for

Whakaahua 8: An Extract from *Nanny Mihi's Garden*, by Melanie Drewery



Pūtake: Drewery (2002 17-18).

things and be responsible” (Becky). Chooks are also portrayed in *Nanny Mihi’s Garden* by Melanie Drewery (2002) as helpless. However, the other children’s literature analysed for the purposes of this rangahau represented chooks as independent. There seem to be contradictory discourses surrounding chooks and their abilities to self-nurture. I find this description of chooks as helpless and weak interesting. I explore this kitenga below.

Despite the participants’ comments and the way that chooks are portrayed in pukapuka such as *Nanny Mihi’s Garden* by Melanie Drewery (2002), I think that narratives overlook the significance of animal agency. Chooks are not actually as helpless and reliant on outside intervention as some of the participants made out. I read this kitenga of helplessness within a broader context of human-animal and gender relations. Chooks do not need human interactions to thrive. Hei tauira, Huia discussed her chooks and their ability to roost in rākau and happily free range at times without any need for additional kai or attention from humans.

Perhaps this construction of chooks as helpless is established to benefit humans. That is, if chooks are needy then it gives people a sense of importance and responsibility. In the same way that wāhine are often represented in media and other sources as helpless and in need of assistance from tāne, I think that chooks have been depicted as silly and helpless and in need of assistance from people (hooks 1997). The reality is that chooks are kept by people in such a way that their ability to remain self-sufficient is restricted.

Reo and Gender

This section discusses the word choices that participants use to describe their chooks, which reflects some contradictory gender identification issues.

Josh and Maureen described their chooks as “girls”. This term encompasses roosters, chooks and their chicks and does not differentiate between genders. Maureen made the following rationalisation: “go and feed the girls. Go and feed the girls... because there’s more girls than roosters”. I think that this labelling of all roosters, chooks and their chicks as girls is deliberate. It creates a connection between chooks as female

and helpless, thereby needing to be fed, kept in cages and so on. If the words used to describe the roosters, chooks and their chicks reflected their biological gender, both female and male, it would not be possible to recreate an image of all these kararehe as female, read helpless and in need of human care.

On a contradictory note, Huia described her chook as a “he” rather than a “she”. Although she is aware that her chooks were female, she uses the masculine pronoun to discuss them. Huia makes the following defence about this word choice:

listen to me, I’m calling chooks ‘he’ and that’s a very common rural habit. Cows are ‘he’ as well. “Oh look *he’s* had a calf”. And people in the city say “pardon”. I don’t know [why] that’s just a New Zealand rural habit. It might be that in the old pioneering days, softness and gentleness and femaleness was not associated with toughness on farms, possibly. But if you look linguistically around the World, and I’ve never looked into this, there could be a similar parallel linguistic habit in other parts of the world. Yeah, I don’t know, you know other cultures may do it as well. But certainly it is a New Zealand thing.

Although Huia realises that it may appear unusual that she uses the pronoun “he” to describe her chook, she defends her word choice on the grounds that it is a “very common rural habit”. Huia goes on to explore possible reasons for this habit indicating that New Zealand pāmu are traditionally a hegemonic masculine space.

I think that Huia’s pronoun choice, “he” instead of “she”, to describe her chook is significant. It is not a linguistic error but a deliberate decision that reflects a male dominated farming culture. She perceives Pākehā pioneering culture to be the cause of the separation between femininity and masculinity whereby “in the old pioneering days, softness and gentleness and femaleness was not associated with toughness on farms”. Jock Phillips’ (1996) publication, *A Man’s Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History*, discusses the work ethic that influenced the pioneer culture in Aotearoa that Huia alludes to. The pioneering Pākehā culture was based in the rural landscape with a heavy focus on hard mahi that required physical “strength and manual dexterity” (Phillips 1996 17). Consequently, rural spaces became well-known as a blokes’ environment whereby “respect for strenuous muscular performance became a central element in the male culture” (Phillips 1996 17). Despite the passing of time, masculinity has continued to be elevated above femininity as demonstrated by

this example, whereby male pronouns are used instead of female pronouns for Huia's chooks.

The participants often used words such as "silly old chook" and "headless chook" when discussing their chooks. All of these kupu have derogatory connotations, primarily towards a woman's age or appearance. Hei tauira, "silly old chook" is a term used to describe elderly wāhine. This contributes to the discourse of helplessness and stupidity. A "(headless) chook" is a stupid wahine. Another term that was used in the interviews is "henpecked". This was used jokingly by Maureen and Tina about wāhine who annoy their tāne or partners through continual nagging and fault-finding. All of these terms contribute to a discourse that constructs chooks as helpless, stupid and annoying.

Women's Mahi

The participants indicated that chook keeping is largely the responsibility of females. It is women and girls that are allocated the tasks of feeding, maintaining and sometimes killing chooks. Tina indicated that she was the primary caregiver for her chooks, however her tamāhine would relieve for her when she started her new form of mahi.

Then it'll be my daughter next when I'll be working. Can't see me getting up at four o'clock in the morning feeding them. And where I'm working is out towards Morrinsville so my daughter will have to do it for me.

Although Tina's tane and sons were available to feed the chooks, I think that it is interesting that Tina, or in her absence, her tamāhine, was left this responsibility. The tāne in her household also benefited from the chooks by way of fresh hēki but did not seem to be interested in taking responsibility. Perhaps the close proximity of the chook run to the home deems chook keeping as a domestic, read: women's role (see Begg 2001 95).

The text and images in *Nanny Mihi's Garden* also reflects a lack of male influence in the chook keeping process (Drewery 2002). In this māra context, it is the domain of

wāhine and tamariki. Becky, Huia and Maureen also indicated similar ideas. On her whānau pāmu, it was either Becky or her whaea that feed the chooks. Similarly, Huia was often requested to feed her family's chooks. Given that everyone benefits from the chook keeping process, why is it predominantly women that take the responsibility of daily care and maintenance for their family's chooks? I think that the main reason is the traditional division of labour between males and females. In addition to paid employment, the majority of wāhine in Aotearoa are also responsible for a range of unpaid domestic tasks. These tasks include: housework, childcare, shopping, cooking, gardening and animal care (see Begg 2001 33, 98). Consequently tāne do not often become actively involved with caring for chooks in comparison to wāhine.

Gender and Sexuality

The gender and sexuality of chooks is an important kaupapa that Daniel implicitly and explicitly addressed.²⁹ Daniel's interpretation of masculinity is: 'rough, tough and dirty'. I argue that he projects this idea onto his tame heihei. Consequently, Daniel depicts his tame heihei, such as 'Randy Ronald', as heterosexual, sexually active and physically strong. Connell (1990 83, 94) explains this version of masculinity as "hegemonic masculinity" whereby males are aligned with "toughness and competitiveness". It is in this context that heterosexuality is promoted and homosexuality becomes marginalised and othered (Connell 1990 83-94).

Daniel expresses the notion that all chooks are heterosexual and sexually active. This reflects a society that is dominated by a discourse of heterosexuality and sexual activity as the 'normative practice' (Brown 1980 2, Marshall and Morris 1995 167). Daniel has adapted these ideas onto chooks, whereby all chooks are sexually active. This is different from my own experiences of keeping chooks. Hei tauira, I once had a tame heihei who did not engage in any sexual activity. I argue that Daniel projects his heterosexuality onto his chooks.

²⁹ This issue did not arise in any other material in this rangahau.

Daniel strongly identifies as a heterosexual male as the following kōrero illustrates. At the beginning of the focus rōpū, Daniel and his girlfriend told me about their new kūao. This was an important purchase because it symbolised a commitment to each other that was a result of a lengthy relationship. They are both rangatahi but we all joked about the correlation between couples buying a kurī and having a pēpi. The family obviously perceived this recent kurī ownership to demonstrate a long-term commitment to each other and to the starting of a new branch of the whānau.

Daniel is publicly affectionate towards his girlfriend. Daniel often attends whānau gatherings holding her ringaringa in his. He is the only one out of five brothers to be involved in a romantic relationship. Daniel's whānau like his girlfriend and are disappointed when he is not as thoughtful towards her as they perceive he should be. In this way, peer-pressure reinforces Daniel's heterosexuality. Krenske and McKay (2000) discuss sexuality issues within the heavy metal scene. In this horopaki, heterosexuality is the hegemonic discourse. In the same way that Daniel's heterosexuality is positively reinforced, so are those involved with night clubs and heavy metal rōpū (Krenske and McKay 2000 7).

In the focus rōpū, there is reference to Daniel being homosexual. Joseph says "I mean Daniel is queer", which was followed by katakata. Clearly being queer or homosexual is the deviant sexual status in this whānau. Krenske and McKay (2000 10) suggest that in heavy metal culture heterosexuality is connected to homophobia. I found similar kitenga in the focus rōpū with Daniel and his brothers. Interesting to note though is that Daniel was the only member of the focus rōpū to be accused of being homosexual. This comment was clearly intended as a tease because everyone laughed after it was made. He has a girlfriend and therefore is immune from any real challenge to his heterosexual status. As a kairangahau, I found that it was difficult to be in such a homophobic environment. I did not know whether to highlight their homophobia or to remain silent. It was an uncomfortable moment. I left the focus rōpū feeling that I might have reinforced Daniel's experience of heterosexuality, whereby homosexuality is the 'other'. I could have challenged this statement about Daniel being "queer".

Daniel did not defend his sexual orientation. Perhaps this is why I choose not to explore this matter any further.³⁰

Whakarāpopototanga

In this ūpoko I examine gender issues of chooks and their keepers. I explore the ways that chooks are represented as hysterical, comical, silly and helpless. I outline the importance of gender in considering the ways that reo is used to construct a discourse that overlooks the biological gender of poultry. I also investigate the role that wāhine play as the primary caregiver of their family's chooks. I conclude by offering Daniel's views of gender and sexuality issues with reference to chook keeping.

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Valentine (1997 122).

Ūpoko Tuawhitu: Whakarāpopototanga

“Keeping Chooks at Home in the Waikato: Exploring Postcolonial, Feminist and Kaupapa Māori Perspectives” provides insights into discourses of chook keeping by Māori in the Waikato rohe. I consider the narratives of eight Māori chook keepers from a postcolonial, feminist and Kaupapa Māori viewpoint. This allows me to conduct a critical inspection of the impacts of colonialism upon Māori in the Waikato. In this conclusion, I summarise important aspects of the rangahau. First, I reflect on the pātai matua and pātai āpiti with particular reference to the rangahau kaupapa. Second, I discuss the theoretical and methodological framework that underpins the project. Third, I discuss some of the interesting kitenga from the rangahau. Fourth, I highlight some further rangahau possibilities that could be studied in future rangahau.

I chose to study Māori chook keeping in the Waikato because it provided me an opportunity to explore my interests in postcolonial, feminist and Kaupapa Māori perspectives. Consequently, the rangahau is directed by this pātai matua: how can focusing on chooks be used to explore and clarify understandings of the way in which colonialism has shaped aspects of contemporary Māori life in the Waikato rohe, Aotearoa? In order to address this pātai, I consider the ongoing affects of colonialism upon the eight Māori participants in this study within the geographical boundaries of the Waikato rohe. With reference to the narratives of these participants, the rangahau considers three pātai āpiti, which I summarise below.

Throughout the three substantive ūpoko, I explore how the rangahau participants view chooks. Although some participants viewed their chooks as an important part of their whānau, they were also perceived as feminised, hysterical, silly, helpless, playmates and sexually active. On the one hand, chooks were deemed as serious. On the other hand, they were seen as stupid. By considering the ways in which the participants used reo to describe their chooks, I gain interesting insights into their perceptions of their chooks.

I also consider reasons that the participants keep or kept chooks. The primary reason that was offered was for their hēki production capabilities and also to cull the

occasional chook for the table. Given the low socio-economic status that the majority of the participants occupy, chook keeping was seen as a cost saving strategy. By keeping chooks for domestic purposes, the participants could provide self-sufficient low-cost nutritious hēki for their whānau.

Upon consideration of the impacts of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori on chook keeping practices, I gained interesting insights into the cultural hybridity of the rangahau participants. Despite the participants' different usage of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori, they all included tikanga Māori into their chook keeping practices, to a greater or lesser extent. Hei tauira, the participants raised issues including: (1) the intrinsic value of chooks; (2) principles of kaitiakitanga and holistic care for the environment; and (3) encouraging natural fertility. I explore these kaupapa with specific reference to narratives from the participants.

In addition, I discuss the impacts of historical and contemporary versions of colonialism upon my interviewees' abilities to keep chooks for commercial and domestic purposes. Māori, the colonial underclass in Aotearoa occupy a subordinate economic tūranga. I explore colonial practices in the Waikato (such as the colonial invasion of the Waikato rohe, subsequent raupatu of Māori whenua and the impacts of the Native Land Court and whenua sales) that may have contributed to this disproportionate distribution of wealth.

This investigation of Māori chook keeping practices in the Waikato rohe offers an innovative and valuable contribution towards postcolonial studies in Aotearoa. I employ a localised version of postcolonialism, by including Kaupapa Māori, a Māori theoretical and methodological approach to the rangahau. My interpretation of Kaupapa Māori is as a series of social interactions rather than a code to be followed exactly. A significant component of Kaupapa Māori rangahau is the development of relationships based on mutual respect and flexibility with rangahau participants. Consequently, the ethical dimension to this rangahau is very significant. I perceive this project as a platform to explore these theoretical and methodological concepts.

I employ qualitative methodological approaches. Specifically, semi-structured interviewing, focus rōpū and discourse analysis in order. I conducted five in-depth

interviews and one focus rōpū with Māori kaumātua. In addition, I held two in-depth interviews and one focus rōpū with three Pākehā key informants. This enabled me to better comprehend race and ethnicity issues relevant to the rangahau. For the discourse analysis component, I collected five different forms of materials (Country Calendar episodes, internet websites, children's pukapuka, kararehe magazines and newspaper articles). This data contributes to the three substantive ūpoko of the thesis.

This rangahau makes a valuable theoretical and methodological contribution towards postcolonial geography in Aotearoa. As I have considered the data for the purposes of analysis, I have become aware of three possibilities for rangahau projects that arise from this rangahau. First, the material about the participants' experiences of poverty is an issue that could be investigated further. I indicated a difference in the financial tūranga of chook keepers who owned property in comparison to those that do not. An in-depth study designed to understand Māori experiences of poverty could consider the relationship between Māori landlessness and poverty in parts of rural Waikato.

Second, I have become increasingly aware of the scope to conduct further rangahau with Māori chook keepers in the Waikato rohe. In particular, I would like to expand this project by considering a broader cross section of people. I think that by making contacts through marae and other Māori community based organisations such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori that I could gain access to a broader range of views about this kaupapa.

Third, I am interested in extending my mātauranga of the impacts of colonisation, particularly, cultural hybridity in relation to chook keeping practices. During the course of this rangahau, I travelled to China and Singapore. I became aware of the importance of chooks in these societies. Perhaps by conducting a comparative study to explore the similarities and differences of chook keeping practices between indigenous populations within the Asia Pacific rohe and Aotearoa, valuable insights could be gained into the impacts of colonisation.

In summary, as I consider the participants' experiences of keeping chooks, in relation to colonialism, a range of ideas emerge including the notion of cultural hybridity. There is an intersection of Pākehā and Māori cultural practices with regards to chook

keeping in the Waikato. In this sense, the participants perceive chooks as a Pākehā and Māori kararehe. On the one hand, chooks have Pākehā origins and are cared for according to Pākehā customs. On the other hand, chooks have become adopted into Māoritanga. Within this context, chooks are incorporated into their tikanga and reo. Consequently, chooks merge the boundaries of 'self' or 'coloniser' and 'other' or 'coloniser'. The participants also view chooks as feminised, silly, hysterical and comical. However, the participants also perceive them as serious and spiritual. Perhaps this is due to their valuable contribution to the economic development of some Māori communities.

List of Āpitiḡanga

Āpitiḡanga 1: Information Sheet

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and Environmental Planning
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geography](http://www.waikato.ac.nz/wfass/subjects/geography)



Māori Cultural Practises of Chicken Farming in the Waikato, Aotearoa: Study Description

I need Māori chicken farmers in the Waikato region to participate in kānohi-kitea (face-to-face) semi-structured interviews and focus groups for research for a Masters thesis in the Geography Department at the University of Waikato. I will be interviewing farmers individually and in groups about Māori feelings about land/property/place, chicken farming techniques, perceptions of chickens and cultural practises. The research is academic and independent of any governmental organisation.

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups will be audiotaped and transcribed. Transcripts will be made available if you wish to check them and make changes within a month of your participation in the research. The data from semi-structured interviews and focus groups will be analysed and the results will contribute to the thesis. Upon its completion, the thesis will be available at the University of Waikato's Central Library. You may request and receive an executive summary of the thesis via email or post. Aggregated data from the study may be included in further work, such as in future academic journal articles that I write.

If you have any queries, comments or concerns about this research project or the way it is being carried out please contact the research supervisor, Professor Robyn Longhurst on +64 7 838 4466, extension 8306 or myself.

Zavier Burnett.

Āpitianga 2: Consent Form

Māori Cultural Practises of Chicken Farming in the Waikato, Aotearoa

Kia ora _____,

Thank you for your participation in a semi-structured interview. Your identity will only be made known to me and your anonymity protected in the thesis using a pseudonym that you can select.

If you agree, I will take written notes and tape record your semi-structured interview. I will then transcribe the dialogue from the tape recording. I will store audiotapes and transcripts in a locked cupboard and in a computer protected by password. Your transcript will be made available within a month of your participation in the research if you wish to check it and make changes. If you desire that sections be deleted from the record, I will accommodate. If I do not hear back from you, or am unable to contact you to return your transcript I will proceed using the original.

The semi-structured interview will take approximately one hour. You can decline participation in the project and require erasure of any data supplied freely until a month after your participation in the research. You can also decline to answer any and all questions should you so choose.

“I agree to participate in this research under the conditions set out above, and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form.”

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: ____/____/ 2005

I agree to abide by the conditions set out above.

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: ____/____/ 2005

Please sign and retain the top of this letter for your personal copy and
return the bottom section signed to Xavier Burnett

“I agree to participate in this research under the conditions set out above, and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this consent form.”

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: ____/____/ 2005

I agree to abide by the conditions set out above.

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: ____/____/ 2005

Āpitianga 3: Kaupapa Outline for Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Rōpū

- **Thank interviewee(s) for agreeing to participate.**
- **Complete consent form.**
- **Let participant(s) choose pseudonym if wished.**
- **Set up dictaphone if participant(s) is/are in agreement.**

- THEME ONE: Poultry/chooks/chickens/hens keeping/farming background

1. Where are you from?
2. What words do you like to use to describe your poultry/chooks/chickens/hens keeping/farming?
3. When did you start keeping/farming poultry/chooks/chickens/hens?
4. Can you tell me a bit about your experiences keeping/farming poultry/chooks/chickens/hens (in the Waikato)?
5. Can you tell me about any experiences that your whānau/friends have had looking after her chooks.

- THEME TWO: Feelings about the land/property/place

1. How long have you lived here?
2. What are some special things about living here?
3. Tell me a bit about how you feel about living in this area.

- THEME THREE: Poultry/chooks/chickens/hens farming/keeping

1. How many chooks do you currently have? Is this the usual number that you keep? Why do you have this many?
2. Do you let them free-range? Why/ why not?
3. What does their diet consist of? What is the cost of this feed? Is it organic? If so, why? If not, why not?

- THEME FOUR: Perceptions of poultry/chooks/chickens/hens

1. Why do you keep/farm poultry/chooks/chickens/hens?
2. Are they like pets/friends? Some of your chooks have names, what are these? Why did you name them? How did these names get chosen? Do you ever eat these animals? Are they mainly kept for egg production purposes? How do you view them? What will happen to them when they go off the lay?
3. How do you relate to them? Do you talk to them? How do you feel about them? In your opinion, what status do they hold? How would you feel if one of your chooks was clucky or sick or died?
4. I am interested in learning about how Māori view poultry/chooks/chickens/hens in traditional (pre-European contact) times. Do you know anything about this topic?
5. How do you think Māori view poultry/chooks/chickens/hens in contemporary times?
6. I have talked with a couple of people about a hierarchy whereby indigenous animals, such as the Pūkeko, occupy a higher status in comparison to introduced animals, such as poultry/chooks/chickens/hens. Do you have any ideas about this?

- THEME FIVE: Cultural Practises

1. As a Māori chicken keeper, do you think you care for your chooks differently to non-Māori? Why or why not?
2. Do you practise any Māori protocol for your chooks such as karakia (prayers) that are unique?
3. Tell me about any other chicken keeping practises that you employ that you think are uniquely Māori (such as karakia).

- THEME SIX: Statistical Data

1. What is your occupation?
2. Do you have any other animals on the property? If so, what and how many?
3. Do you affiliate with any hapū and iwi? If so, which ones?

4. What is your gender?
5. Please **circle** which **age bracket** do you fit into: **18-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 46-50, 51-55, 56-60, 60+**

PROMPTS – nod, smile, “hmm”, “really”, “oh really”, “go on”, “yes?” “I see” “And then...”, repeat the question, repeat participant’s last few words, remain silent, lean forward etc.

PROBES – “What do you mean by...?”, “Tell me more about...” “Why?” “Can you give me an example of that?” “How did you feel about that?” etc

CHECKS – “So, if I understand you correctly, you mean...” “What this means, then, is that...” “You’re talking about chickens, aren’t you?” etc

- **Are there any issues that you would like to raise that you feel are important but that you have not had a chance to talk about in this interview?**
- **Thank you for your participation in this research project.**

Āpitihanga 4: Email to Potential Participants

Kia ora _____ (name removed to protect anonymity),

Earlier in the year we talked about my thesis topic (Māori Cultural Practises of Chicken Farming in the Waikato, Aotearoa). You mentioned that you, your husband and your father might be interested in participating.

I have been granted ethical approval from te Kura Kete Aronui for this project. At this stage I am seeking participants that identify as Māori for semi-structured interviews and focus groups to talk about their experiences of looking after chooks (either in the past or present). Are you or anyone else that you know keen to participate?

I am happy to meet with people to provide further information about the topic prior to their involvement.

I look forward to your reply.

Nāku noa,

Zavier Burnett
MSocSc Student

Te Wāhanga Arowhenua
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Āpitianga 5: Information about Māori Participants Involved in this Study

Participants' name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Approximate Time period when kept chooks	Property Type and Location	Chook Keeping Type (see Whakaahua 3, whārangi 45)
Tina	Female	36-40	Between jobs	2003- current	Dairy pāmu labourer's accommodation, Wardville	Low-Intensive
Maureen	Female	36-40	Housewife	1996- current	Dairy pāmu labourer's accommodation, Te Kawa	Battery
Marni	Female	18-25	Undergraduate Tauria	1995-2003	Lifestyle Block, Ahipara (now resides in Kirikiriroa)	Free Range
Huia	Female	56-60	Librarian	1945-1963, 1985 and 1990	Whānau Owned Dairy pāmu near Otorohanga, Organic Tree Pāmu in Nelson and Lifestyle Block in Te Pahu	Low-Intensive
Aneta	Female	36-40	Graduate Tauria	1979-1985	Lifestyle Block in Ōpōtiki (now residing in Kirikiriroa)	Low-Intensive
Becky	Female	56-60	Semi- Retired	1945-1959	Whānau Owned Dairy Pāmu in Whawharua	Strawyard
Josh	Male	18-25	Undergraduate Tauria	1987-1997	Dairy and pig pāmu labourer's accommodation, Matamata	Free Range
Daniel	Male	18-25	Mechanic	1985-1997	Dairy and pig pāmu labourer's accommodation, Matamata	Free Range
Joe	Male	18-25	Accountant	1985-1997	Dairy and pig pāmu labourer's accommodation, Matamata	Free Range

Āpitihanga 6: Information about Pākehā Participants Involved in this Study

Participants' name	Gender	Age	Occupation	Approximate Time period when kept chooks	Property Type and Location	Chook Keeping Type (see Whakaahua 3, whārangi 45)
Oliver	Male	56-50	Lecturer	1955-1973 and 1997-current	Whānau Owned Sheep Pāmu, Southland and Lifestyle Block, Te Pahu	Low-Intensive
Dennis	Male	60+	Hospital Storeman	1993-2000	¾ acre section, Kirikiriroa	Low-Intensive
Brian	Male	56-60	Engineer	1990-current	Lifestyle Block, Wardville	Low-Intensive
Gloria	Female	60+	Cleaner and Housewife	1990-current	Lifestyle Block, Wardville	Low-Intensive
Deane	Male	18-25	Doctorate Tauria	1990-current	Lifestyle Block, Wardville	Low-Intensive

Āpitianga 7: Email to Television New Zealand

Kia ora _____(name removed to protect anonymity),

I am a graduate student at the University of Waikato. I am currently completing my Masters thesis on chicken farming practises in New Zealand.

I am wondering if you would be able to locate any programmes on chickens that may have been showed on *Country Calendar*, animal and farming programmes on Television New Zealand. I am interested in the following issues: uses of chickens (for example as pets, as layers, for the table and so on), breeding, housing, feeding, farmers' attitudes towards their chickens (for example, are they more/less important than people and/or other animals).

I need to watch any relevant programmes to analyse for the purposes of the thesis. I anticipate your reply.

Kind regards,
Zavier.

Zavier Burnett
MSocSc Student

Te Wāhanga Arowhenua
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Glossary of Māori Terms

Aotearoa	New Zealand
āpitihanga	appendix, appendices
āria	theoretical framework, theory
aroha	love
awa	river(s)
hāora	hour(s)
hapū	sub-tribe
harakeke	flax
hararei	holiday(s)
hei tauira	for example, as an example
heihei	chook(s)
hēki	egg(s)
horopaki	context
hōtoke	winter
hū	shoe(s)
huarahi mahi	methodology
huawhenua	vegetable(s)
hui	meeting
ihu	nose
ingoa	name(s)
irāmutu	niece
iwi	tribe(s), tribal
kai	food
kāinga	home(s)
kairangahau	researcher(s)
kaitiaki	guardians
kaitiakitanga	stewardship
kaituhi	author
kākahu	clothing
kākano	seed(s)
kānohi-kitea	face-to-face
karakia	chant(s), prayer(s)

kararehe	animal(s)
karu	eye
katakata	laughter
kaumātua	elders, key informants
kaupapa	topic(s), theme(s)
kawa	protocols
kāwanatanga	government
Kēmureti	Cambridge
kiri	skin
Kirihimete	Christmas
Kirikiriroa	Hamilton
kitenga	finding(s)
koha	gift(s)
kōrero	conversation(s), dialogue, talk, story, stories, narrative(s), statement(s), comment(s)
kōrero paki	story, stories
kūao	puppy
kuia	grandmother
kupu	term(s), word(s)
kura	school(s)
kurī	dog
mahi	employment, work, task, occupation, job, chore(s)
mahi kāinga	homework
makawe	hair
mana	prestige
manaakitanga	hospitality, caring for others
manu	bird(s)
manuhiri	visitor
Māoritanga	Māori society
māra	garden
marae	Māori meeting place
mātauranga	knowledge(s)
matua	father, main

mātua	parents
maunga	mountain(s)
mauri	life force
me	and
mihi	acknowledgements
mokopuna	grandchildren
motu	country
nā	by
ngā	the (plural)
noke	worm
Pākehātanga	Pākehā society
pāmu	farm(s)
pātai	question(s)
pātai āpiti	sub question(s)
pātai matua	focus question(s)
pepeha	proverb
pēpi	baby
pīpī	chicks
Pōneke	Wellington
pukapuka	text(s), book(s)
puna	source(s)
pūrākau	story
pūtake	source
Rāhui Pōkeka	Huntly
rākau	trees
rangahau	research
rangatahi	teenager(s), young people
rangatira	leader(s)
rārangi mahi	contents page
rārangi rauemi	reference list
rauemi	resource(s)
raumati	summer
raupatu	confiscation
reo	language

ringaringa	hand(s)
rīpoata	report(s)
rohe	region(s), area(s)
rōpū	group(s)
rūma noho	lounge
taiapa	fence
tama	son
tamāhine	daughter
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
tame heihei	rooster(s)
tane	man, husband
tāne	men
tangata	person
tangata whenua	people of the land (indigenous populations)
taonga	treasure, prized possession
tau	year(s)
tauirā	student(s)
tauera	towel
tautoko	support
te Kura Kete Aronui	the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori	the Māori Language Commission
te Wāhanga Arowhenua	the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
te Whare Wānanga o Waikato	the University of Waikato
te reo me ngā tikanga Māori	Māori language and customs
te reo (Māori)	the Māori language
te reo Pākehā	the English language
teina	young siblings of the same gender
tikanga (Māori)	(Māori) culture
tikanga Pākehā	Pākehā customs
tīmatanga	introduction
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self-Sufficiency
toa	shop

tohu tō	macron(s)
tuaono	sixth
tuarima	fifth
tuarua	second
tuatahi	first
tuatoru	third
tuawhā	fourth
tuawhitu	seventh
tūpuna	ancestors
tūranga	position
ūpoko	chapter(s)
wā	time, season
wāhi	location, place(s)
wāhine	women
wai māori	fresh water
wairua	spirit
waitara	abstract
waka	vehicle, car
wānanga	focussed learning session
whaea	mother
whaiāipo	sweetheart
Whāingaroa	Raglan
whakaahua	figure, photograph(s), map
whakaaro	views, thoughts
whakapapa	genealogical basis for life whereby all living things are interconnected
whakarāpopototanga	conclusion(s)
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	(extended) family, (extended) families
whanaungatanga	family relationships
whārangi	page(s)
whare	dwelling, house
whenua	land(s)
wiki	week(s)

Rārangi Rauemi

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